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THE SUBANU

STUDIES OF A SUB-VISAYAN MOUNTAIN FOLK OF MINDANAO

PART I. ETHNOGRAPHICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LAND AND PEOPLE

BY LIEUT.-COL. JOHN PARK FINLEY, U. S. A.

PART II. DISCUSSION OF THE LINGUISTIC MATERIAL

BY WILLIAM CHURCHILL

PART III. VOCABULARIES

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THE SUBANU

Studies of a Sub-Visayan Mountain Folk of Mindanao

Part I.

Ethnographical and Geographical Sketch of Land and People

By JOHN PARK FINLEY

Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, U. S. A., Governor of Zamboanga

THE SUBANU.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SUBANU.

TRIBAL DESIGNATION.

The term Subanun (Subanon) is of Moro (Sulu) origin and signifies a man or people of the river or, more exactly, a man or people from up the river. The Sulu equivalent of the word river is *soba;* of the phrase up the river, the equivalent is *sumud ha soba.* The suffix *nun* denotes locality or place of habitation. The suffix *non* has a similar signification in Visayan. The suffixes *num* and *nom* possess similar meanings in the dialects of Ilocano, Lepanto, and Bontoc, and in some of the Formosan dialects. According to the Spanish nomenclature this term is written *Subano.* When these people are interrogated, those living near the coast call themselves Subanu or Subano; those living near the headwaters of the rivers and in the mountains call themselves *tan bukid* or *tan buid,* meaning, respectively, man of the hills or hill-man, or man of the fields. The word *bukid* in Visayan means hill or mountain, in Tagalog it means field or country.

Christie says:

> The name *Subanun* means *river dweller,* from the word *suba* river, common to Philippine dialects, including Sulu and Visaya. This term was applied to the tribe because its members are met with in going up the river from the coast, in contradistinction to the Moros and Christians of the Zamboanga Peninsula, who are coast dwellers. Probably the term was first applied by these people to themselves.*

The habitat of these people is confined to the interior and mountainous portions of the Zamboanga district of the great island of Mindanao. In his history of Mindanao and Sulu, published in 1667, Father Francisco Combes calls the Subanu the "fourth nation of Mindanao" and refers to them as the inhabitants of the rivers, to which they owe their name, as the radical *suba* is the "word used by the nations (tribes) of Mindanao for river."

The names of tribes, of persons, of titles, of places, and of natural features in the Philippines have been subject to much irregularity and confusion in their orthographical presentation. This is due to the absence of an established orthographic system, the neglect of such a system when properly authorized, ignorance of or indifference to the

*Emerson Brewer Christie: *The Subanuns of Sindangan Bay.* Manila, 1909: Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology; Publications, vol. VI, part 1, pp. 121, chart, 29 illustrations.

application of any system, and attempts at individual phonetics. Thus great diversity appears in official reports, both civil and military, and in the construction of maps of the islands. An example is given in the spelling of the Sulu term *datu* (chief), a Moro designation of rank, variously written as: *datoh*, *datto*, *dattu*, *dato*, *datoo*, *dattoh*, and *datu*, the last being the best form, according to Saleeby's system of transliteration, described briefly as follows in his *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion* (Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands):

> In translating the *tarsila* (original manuscripts) such a large number of words have to be transliterated that it is deemed necessary to adopt a system of transliteration which can be easily understood by every English reader and which is more adequate to express Magindanao sounds than either Spanish or English. With the exception of *ng* and *sh* the characters used in this system represent simple sounds only. Every radical modification of a certain simple sound is regarded as a different simple sound and is represented by a separate and distinct character. Every compound sound is represented by those characters that express its simple constituent sounds. It is an unvarying rule in this system that every character represents an invariable sound and every sound has only one invariable character.

We have already observed a considerable variation in the orthography of the tribal name of the Subanuns, which in that form has the sanction of the Philippine Bureau of Science. If the word is spelled as generally pronounced by the members of the tribe, and applying the principles of the Saleeby system, it would be written Subanu.*

Concerning this question of orthography and nomenclature, Blumentrit said in 1890:

> Notwithstanding the rich literature concerning the peoples and languages of the Philippine Archipelago, there is no book or publication in which are catalogued the names of the tribes and the languages, and this appears the more inexcusable since both Spanish and Philippine writers, with few exceptions, handle these names very carelessly, so that great confusion must ensue.
>
> The prevailing bad form in the Philippines of transferring the name of one people or family to another, who possess similarities of any kind with the first, either in manner or life, or even only in culture grade in the widest sense of the term, has its counterpart in a second bad fashion of making several peoples out of one by replacing the folk name with the tribal names. Only with the greatest pains and thought is it possible to extricate one's self from this labyrinth of nomenclature. After thorough search I am convinced that many names reported to me must be eliminated, since they owe their existence to mistakes in penmanship or printing, to ridicule, misunderstanding, or to error, as I have proved in single instances.

---

*For the reasons stated in the preceding sentence it has seemed preferable to adopt for this work the designation Subanu and to employ it indeclinably. The derivation proposed by the several authorities cited in the preceding pages is in violation of the principles of composition employed in the language. Thus *suba* is river, *–nan* is locative; observe in the vocabulary *sinbaan*, a church as the place (locative *–an*) in which worship (*sinba*) is performed; accordingly, *subanun* would not mean people of rivers, but a place where rivers are. Furthermore, in the language, *–an* is the locative suffix, *–nan* is restricted to the value of forming nouns of quality from adjectives. The suffix *–n* is employed to form collective plurals, therefore Subanun means only all the Subanu. Following the best modern usage we shall employ *Subanu* for singular and plural, as noun and adjective.—W. C.

Dr. Barrows, in his paper on the non-Christian tribes of Mindanao, published in the Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903, states:

> The word *Subanon* is derived from the very common Malayan word *suba*, meaning *river*, and the suffix *non*, meaning *people of*. It is a good tribal designation, is in general use, and has been recorded a long while. The Subanons are the only Pagan people of Mindanao among which I have spent sufficient time to judge somewhat of the type, the language, and culture. They appear to be a representative type of the primitive Malayan race widely distributed through the Malayan archipelago, who have been forced back from the sea in the interior by the arrival and persecutions of the sea-faring Malays, both previous and subsequent to the latter's conversion to Mohammedanism.

Mason, in his introduction to Blumentrit's work on the native tribes and languages of the Philippines, says:

> To unravel the mysteries set forth by the foregoing is the opportunity of the ethnologist. It needs only to look back upon the bloody horrors enacted in our own history through lack of knowledge concerning the social organization and prejudices of the Indians, to awaken the liveliest sympathies and cooperation of the statesmen and philanthropists in the ethnology of the Philippines.

Since the above criticisms were published much has been accomplished to correct the evils complained of. Labors to this end have been unremitting by the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department and by the Bureau of Science of the Philippine government at Manila. Much yet remains to be done, and the field for faithful and patient research is a large one, offering rich rewards to ethnologists of the highest ability; private munificence has an unusual opportunity in promoting this most important survey of primitive people, including Indonesians, Malayans, and European and Asiatic mestizos.

Blumentrit in "Native Tribes of the Philippines" mentions "the Subanos (Subanon, river people) as a heathen people of Malay extraction who occupy the entire peninsula of Sibuguey (west Mindanao) with the exception of a single strip on the south coast."

On a chart of the Philippine Islands and China Sea, engraved in Manila in 1734, from data obtained from Spanish and British navigators, the native inhabitants of the Zamboanga and Dapitan districts are referred to as "Subanirs" and "Solocos," and the territory as a part of the great island of "Majindanao," as it was then written.

Along the western shore of Illana Bay (then called Bongo Bay) the inhabitants are referred to as "Moors," a translation of the Spanish designation for the Mohammedan tribes, Moros.

In the record of his voyages (1774–1775) Captain Forrest uses the terms "Haraforas, Sunabos, Kanakan and Oran Manubo" as applied to the Subanu of Mindanao. He describes them as—

> the vassals of the Sultan and of others who possess great estates. Those vassals are sometimes Mahometans, though mostly Haraforas (heathen). The latter only may be sold with the lands, but can not be sold off the lands.

The Haraforas are more opprest than the former. The Mahometan vassals are bound to accompany their lords on any sudden expedition, but the Haraforas, being in a great measure excused from such attendance, pay yearly taxes which are not expected from the Mahometan vassals. They pay a *boiss* or land tax. Those vassals at Magindano (Kutabatu Valley) have what land they please, and the Mahometans on the seacoast, whether free or Kanakan (slaves), live mostly by trading with the Haraforas (heathen), while their own gardens produce them betel nuts, coconuts, and greens.

Forrest evidently used the term "Haraforas" in a generic sense as pertaining to Pagan peons wherever found. He writes of the "Haraforas" of New Guinea as subject to the control of their overlords. Blair and Robertson comment on this term as follows:

> Crawfurd in his Dictionary Ind. Islands explains this name as a corruption of Alforas; it is not a native word at all, nor is it the generic name of any people whatsoever. It is a word of the Portuguese language, apparently derived from the Arabic article *al* and the preposition *fora* (without). The Indian Portuguese applied it to all people beyond their own authority or who were not subdued by them, and consequently to the wild races of the interior. It would seem to be equivalent to the "Indios bravos" of the Spaniards, as applied to the wild and unconquered tribes of America and the Philippines.

THE HOME LAND.

From the published records of the early Spanish discoveries, more especially from the writings of Father Francisco Combes (1667), in his *History of Mindanao and Sulu*, there is good reason to believe that the Subanu were the aborigines* of western Mindanao, viz: that portion of the great island lying west of the Isthmus of Tukuran, separating the bays of Iligan and Illana. It was over this isthmus that the Spanish General Weyler (governor-general of the Philippines, 1889–1891) completed, in 1890, a military trocha or line of fortified stations, named after members of the Spanish royal family, as Fort Cristina, Fort Isabel, and Fort Alfonso. In his plans for the subjugation of Mindanao, General Weyler constructed this trocha for the purpose of shutting out the Malanao Moros (Moros of the lake region) from the Subanu country (western Mindanao) and preventing further destructive raids upon the peaceful and industrious peasants of these hills. In furtherance of this project he proposed to the Spanish Cortes the granting of an appropriation for the construction of a canal across this isthmus, which he estimated could be accomplished with native labor at moderate expense, by following and improving the course of the Tukuran River and of the Lintogud stream connecting with Pangil Bay on the north, a branch of the much larger Iligan Bay.

The military preparations at the Tukuran (south) end of the trocha consisted of a stone blockhouse at the mouth of the Tukuran River;

*The term is properly used only as relative to later and dominant Malay races. We shall see that the Subanu are an older stock of the Visayan family, therefore Malays and comparatively late comers. They have nothing in common with the persistent pygmy race of autochthons of whom the Aeta stand as type specimens—W. C.

earthworks on the high bluffs above the river on the east side; a stone fort on a knoll about 100 yards further east; another stone blockhouse about a quarter of a mile east of the river and on a knoll overlooking the sea, and guarding the water supply for the post. In connection with the earthworks on the bluffs the Spaniards constructed quarters, barracks, storehouses, hospital, and magazines for the use of infantry and artillery. A good wagon-road was built from Tukuran to Lintogud, connecting the fortified stations of Cristina, Isabel, and Alfonso. Telegraphic communication was established between Tukuran and these stations, and thence to Misamis, at the head of Pangil Bay. Thus it will be seen that extensive preparations were made by the Spanish government to prevent Moro raids across the Tukuran isthmus against the Subanu of the Zamboanga and Dapitan districts. The government appreciated the peaceful attitude of the Subanu and their industrious habits as the native farmers of the hills, and General Weyler displayed a fine sense of justice and high qualities as a governor by zealously engaging with generous plans for the protection of a people who preferred peace and agricultural development to piracy and war.

In a review of the plans of General Weyler for the subjugation of the Mindanao Moros and for guarding the interests of the Subanu, Retana writes in 1896 as follows:

Uno de sus primeros cuidados dué la construcción del camino militar de Tucuran á Misamis, para establecer una comunicación de N. á S., que no la había en el interior de la isla, amén de defender á los subanos, gente pacífica, de las agresiones de los moros, que solían secuestrarlos para reducirlos á la más infamante esclavitud. El trazado de esta trocha, justo es decirlo, era obra enterior á la posesión de Weyler; pero adolecía de grandísimos defectos, y de Weyler es la gloria de la rectificacción, así como la construcción, que se dió poer terminada el 12 de Marzo del '90. Mide la trocha 28 kilómetros de larga, y en ella se establecieron los fuertes de Tucuran ó Alfonso XIII, Infanta Isabel ó Lúbig, y Lintogut, en el fondo de la bahía de Pangil. Desde este último punto no fué posible continuar el camino á Misamis, á causa de ser el terreno pantanoso; pero se hace por mar á Balatacan, continuándose el camino á Tangot, y desde aquí á Misamis. También en estos puntos se pusieron fuertes. Practicáronse reconocimientos, de orden del General, para ver si era posible abrir un camino desde Lintogut ó Lúbig hacia la punta de Binuni; pero huba de desistirse por lo mucho que hubiera costado su construcción. Con todo, una vez establecida la línea de fuertes de la trocha de Tucuran, había mucho granado para ir dominando de una manera efectiva la parte más importante de la isla; y despúes de situar destacamentos en los puntos mencionados, púsose otro en Margo-sa-Túbig, en la bahia de Dumanquilas, á más de que dictó disposiciones para tener en frecuente relación por mar los principales puntos que existen desde Dapitan á Cagayán de Misamis, y restablecer el servicio marítimo de guerra en la costa Sur de la isla para impedir expediciones piráticas.

After American occupation Tukuran was garrisoned by United States troops, and telegraphic connection by cable was established with Zamboanga and Jolo to the south and west, and with Misamis and Manila to the north. Troops occupied the old Spanish fort at Misamis

and the military trocha was maintained in fairly good condition until the latter part of 1902, when regular troops were removed and the whole trocha left to the control of the Masibai Moros, under the leadership of Datu Maminton. The Moros took advantage of this absence of troops to resume their raids upon the Subanu and made it necessary to reestablish the garrison at Tukuran in January, 1903, and to cause the trocha to be patrolled from Tukuran to Misamis.

When the regular troops were again withdrawn they were replaced by native troops, constabulary at first, succeeded in 1908 by Philippine scouts, which continue to garrison the trocha.

When the Spanish military occupation of the Tukuran-Lintogud-Misamis trocha ceased, in 1899, by the withdrawal of the troops of Spain, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Paris, the Masibai Moros fell again into control and resumed their depredations against the Subanu in the Zamboanga district and against the Filipinos and Subanu in the Misamis district. These raids involved the destruction of life and property and the carrying of many people into bondage. A Moro village was reopened at Tukuran on each side of the river; and the military buildings, together with a Moro *kota* (fort) on the west side of the river, were occupied by Moros until they were forced to abandon the situation by the appearance of American troops on October 15, 1900. Telegraphic communication was then established with the north coast at Misamis in time to connect with the Manila cable on January 1, 1901.

Father Pablo Pastell, writing of the native people of Mindanao, under date of April 20, 1887, says of the Subanu:

> The Subanuns are a tribe that has become degenerate because of the persecutions which they have had to endure from the Moros, who collect large tributes from them. They are husbandmen, but the Moros gain the benefit of their sweat. They are long-suffering and pacific, for they are not accustomed to the handling of arms. They are also superstitious and ignorant. Their docility would render their complete reduction very easy. They occupy almost all the peninsula of Sibuguey and are contiguous to the Moros of Lanao and of the bay of Illana. The latter make use of them, for they enslave them in order to make them work their fields. The military road from Tucuran to Maranding, on the way to Misamis, will destroy the dominion exercised by the Illanos Moros and those of Lanao over the Subanos, for it will destroy the piracy and captivity, because of the impossibility of communication across the trocha. At the same time it will facilitate the action of the missionaries in the reduction of the said heathens.

As one of the primitive tribes of Mindanao, the Subanu quite naturally covered that portion (panhandle) of the great island lying west of the isthmus of Tukuran, this territory being of uniform topography, the interior capable of intercommunication by trails, the streams small and at frequent intervals, and the soil and timber well adapted to rude methods of cultivation. Father Combes says that he found a few Negritos (Aetas) in the Misamis strip, but Barrows, in his chart

of the races and tribes, shows that they were confined to Surigao in extreme northeast Mindanao. If these dwarfs ever inhabited any portion of the Zamboanga and Dapitan districts, every trace has long ago disappeared. These districts, from an aboriginal viewpoint, form the Subanu country, which has been held by them exclusively, especially the mountain areas, from the earliest times.

The Subanu have never left their home country (the panhandle of Mindanao) except as they have been carried away in involuntary servitude by Moros and Filipinos. Originally occupying the entire land area to the coast line, they have been gradually driven back into the most inaccessible portions of the mountainous interior by the raids and exploitation of their long-time enemies, the Moros and Filipinos.

There is a legend among the Subanu that their first chief was a giant by the name of Tabunaway; that he lived and ruled over his people before the appearance of the Moros and therefore before the coming of the Spaniards; that his residence was near the place now called Zamboanga, then known as Nawang; that when the first Moros (about the year 1380) came, they wanted to exchange their fish for the fruit of the land and guided their boat up a river into the hills for the purpose; the fish were placed on the rocks at the landing-place and the Moros retired to await the coming of the hill people who, when they came down the trail and saw the strange fish, tried them for food and were pleased; so they gave of their own food (rice, sugar-cane, and *ubi*) and placed it on the stones from which the fish were taken. Thus began, several centuries ago, the exchange of products between the hill people and the coast or sea people. The industrial significance of this primitive trade relation, as a factor in the political and commercial development of these natives, was not appreciated by the Spanish. After American occupation in 1899 the writer began the study of these trade relations between the hill people and the coast people, which in 1904 resulted in the development of the Moro Exchange system of markets, trading stores and tribal ward farms, which by June 30, 1911, were turning out a business of 1,000,000 pesos annually. So much for the controlled productive development of a savage people which provides for honest living and moral responsibility while industrial uplift is being promoted.

Localities and association with other people affect the Subanu to some extent, more especially in dialect, in dress, and in methods of agriculture. According to locality these people may be designated as follows:

1. Subanu of Dapitan (Illaya valley).
2. Subanu of the Dipolog valley.
3. Subanu of Bukidnon, Misamis strip.
4. Subanu of Manukan valley.
5. Subanu of Sindangan Bay.
6. Subanu of Panganuran and Coronado.
7. Subanu of Siukun (Sicogon, Siocon).
8. Subanu of Kipit (modern Spanish, Quipit; old Spanish, by Pigafetta, Chipit, Chippit, Cippit; by the Roteiro, Capyam, Quype; by Peter Martyr, Chipico; in Transylvanus, Gibity; and in Barros, Quepindo).
9. Subanu of Malayal and Patalun.

10. Subanu of Bolong valley.
11. Subanu of Tupilak valley.
12. Subanu of Bakalan valley.
13. Subanu of Lei-Batu valley.
14. Subanu of Sibugai-Sei valley.
15. Subanu of Dumankilas Bay.
16. Subanu of Dipolo valley.
17. Subanu of Dinas valley.
18. Subanu of Lubukan valley.
19. Subanu of Labangan valley.
20. Subanu of Mipangi valley.

The above localities of Subanu culture are in juxtaposition to a variety of other native cultures; the following gives their designations and the dialects they use:

1. Dapitanos, Cebuan-Visaya dialect.
2. Boholanos, Boholan-Visaya dialect.
3. Joloanos, Sulu-Moro dialect.
4. Zamboangans, Zamboangueno or Tagalog-Visaya dialect.
5. Samales, Samal-Sulu-Moro dialect.
6. Magindanaos, Magindanao-Moro dialect.
7. Kalibugans, Kalibugan-Moro dialect.
8. Illanos, Illano-Ranao-Moro dialect closely allied to Magindanao dialect.

POPULATION.

No accurate census of the Subanu people has ever been taken. The American census of 1903 conducted by General Sanger, U. S. Army, under the direction of the Philippine Commission, furnished the following data for a portion of the Subanu country, the panhandle of Mindanao:

The sub-district of Dapitan	5,995
The Misamis strip	3,418
The Zamboanga settlements	13,170
Total	22,583

The following estimate for 1912 is taken from the records of the office of the governor of the District of Zamboanga:

Municipality of Zamboanga	362
Municipality of Dapitan	696
Tribal Ward No. 2	10,895
Tribal Ward No. 3	7,636
Tribal Ward No. 4	9,954
Tribal Ward No. 5	4,447
Tribal Ward No. 6	8,521
Tribal Ward No. 7	2,875
Bukidnon-Misamis strip	4,778
Total	47,164

In 1897 the Spanish general and governor of Mindanao, Gonzalez Parado, submitted an official estimate of the tribal population of Mindanao, in which he classifies 16 different tribes of non-Christians and places the Subanu population at 70,000. It has been found, however, that the Spanish records of population were not prepared with sufficient care to insure accuracy, especially in the making of estimates. The tendency seemed to be in the direction of exaggeration.

DISCOVERY HISTORY.

The first contact of white men with the Subanu was on the north coast of Mindanao, near what is now Dapitan, by the Magellan expedition on its way southward from Cebu about May 6, 1521, and described by Pigafetta as follows:

After coasting along the island of Panilongon (Panglao, off S. E. coast of Bohol) where black men like those in Ethiopia live, we then came to a large island (Mindanao) whose king, in order to make peace with us, drew blood from his left hand, marking his body, face, and the tip of his tongue with it as a token of the closest friendship, and we did the same. I went ashore with the king in order to see that island. Two hours after nightfall we reached the king's house, two leguas from the beginning of the river. The king's name is Raia Calanao. The harbor is an excellent one and is called Chipit.

By some writers this word "Chipit" is interrupted as "Quipit," a Moro rancheria on the northwest coast of the Zamboanga peninsula, about 45 miles south of Dapitan, but without a harbor, and where ships can not lie with safety during the southwest monsoon.

In 1656 Father Francisco Colin, in writing of the Subanu of the Dapitan district, describes them as "the nation of Subanos, which is the most numerous in the island of Mindanao and well disposed toward evangelical instruction, as they are heathens and not Mahometans, as are the Mindanaos."

In Pigafetta's account of the voyages of Magellan, 1519 to 1522, he refers to the journey from Jolo along the west coast of the Zamboanga Peninsula as follows:

Then we laid our course east by north between two settlements called Cauit and Subanin, and an inhabited island called Monoripa, located about ten leguas from the reefs. The people of that island make their dwellings in boats and do not live otherwise. In those two settlements of Cauit and Subanin, which are located in the island of Butuan and Calaghan, is found the best cinnamon that grows. Laying our course to the northeast, we sailed to a large city called Maingdanao, which is located in the island of Butuan and Calaghan, so that we might gather information concerning Maluco.

The identification of this part of the voyage north and east from Jolo (written Zolo by Pigafetta) is very much involved when it is compared with existing conditions and nomenclature. The Cauit referred to may be the rancheria of Kauit located in Kauit Bay on the west coast of the Zamboanga Peninsula, about 30 miles north of the town of Zamboanga, the present capital of the Moro Province. There is a small island in Kauit Bay, about one-fourth mile from the submerged reefs at the coast line, but this island does not answer to Pigafetta's description of Butuan. The cave of Kaua Kaua, near the western extremity of the town of Zamboanga, is the location of a very old settlement of non-Christians, which may have been visited by Pigafetta. The settlement of Subanin might have been a rancheria of Subanu located near Kaua Kaua. Off to the southeast of Kaua Kaua, about two miles, lie the islands of Santa Cruz small and Santa Cruz large. Farther to the east in Basilan Straits are the islands of Coco, Sibago, Lanhil, Tiktaban, Bilang Bilang, and Sakol, the latter being the largest of the group—all at the entrance to Sibugay Bay. If Pigafetta entered this bay on his way south to Sarangani Bay and the Moluccas (October 1521), he may have seen and visited the island of Buluan with its

Subanu settlements, as well as the much larger island of Olutanga at the entrance to Dumankilas Bay, also in the possession of the Subanu. But Pigafetta did not tarry long at these places, as he was anxious to reach the Moluccas to obtain treasure and food.

After leaving Maingdanao, where they laid hold of the brother of the king of that place, because he could pilot the ships of the fleet to the Moluccas, the captains changed their course to the southeast and arrived at Tidor in the Moluccas on Friday, November 8, 1521. None of the fleet returned to the Philippines. The voyage through the archipelagos of Sulu, Basilan, and Mindanao, governed as it was by the ever-present desire to reach the Moluccas, afforded little opportunity to study the islands or their inhabitants. The information is indefinite and subject to much corruption by the transcriptions of many authors from the original manuscripts of Pigafetta. Blair and Robertson have exhibited rare skill and the utmost patience and fidelity in presenting an English translation and the original Italian, publishing them together and rigidly preserving the peculiarities of the original text. Pigafetta may have met some of the Subanu on the north coast of Mindanao when the fleet stopped near Dapitan, and again on the south coast, as the ships passed through Sibugay Bay, but the details will always remain a matter of conjecture whereby the value of the information is obscured.

Professor Hirth, the Chinese scholar, thinks that the first observations upon the Philippines are to be found in the work of Chao-Jukua, inspector of foreign shipping at Fu-Kien, between the years of 1210 and 1240. In this work, the Chu-Fanchi or "Description of outside barbarians," he speaks of the islands of Po-ni (Borneo), Ma-i (Mindanao or Panay), and of the Pi-Sho-ye of Taiwan (Formosa). This latter name sounds something like "Bisaya," the native designation for Visaya. The book mentions also the San-su or "Three Islands." Book 325 of the *History of the Ming Dynasty* (1368–1634) of China, as abstracted by Groeneveldt, refers to the kings (sultans) of Sulu as attacking Puni (Borneo) in 1638, and of the King of Sulu, Paduka (Japanese "lord") Pahala, as dying while on a visit to the Emperor of China at Te-Chou on the Grand Canal (Shantung Province). The Emperor then recognized his eldest son, Tumohan, as Sultan of Sulu, in 1417. The brother of King Pahala, who was named Suli, made a visit to China in 1421. From this and other extracts it appears that the Chinese knew of the Mohammedan settlements at Manila and Tondo prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, and must have carried on a lucrative trade with them; otherwise the pirate Li-Ma-Hong would not have made such a desperate attempt to take Manila so soon after its foundation in 1571.

Saleeby quotes Captain Forrest (English navigator, 1774–1775) as authority for the statement that the first Mohammedan priest arrived in Mindanao (Kutabatu valley) in A. D. 1475. Father Combes in 1645

found the natives (Boholano Filipinos) of southwestern Bohol and of Panglao living on the northwest coast of Mindanao at Dapitan. He calls them "the noble and brave nation of the Dapitans," and refers to the village of Dapitan as being small at present, but as having been "one of the most densely populated in the past, the one most respected for its power, and in our times the whole, both of these conquests and of their Christian churches." He states:

> In a small number reduced to one single village, there is inclosed a nation apart from all the others and superior to all those discovered in nobility, valor, fidelity, and Catholicism. They are descended from the island of Bool (Bohol), where they anciently occupied the strait made by that island and the island of Panglao. They occupied both shores and the entire island of Panglao. [Visited by Pigafetta about May 3, 1521, where he found "black men like those in Ethiopia live."] War exiled the Dapitans from their country, a proof of their valor and the unforeseen accidents of their misfortunes. Among the Subanos their valor is so accredited that a Dapitan has nothing to fear among a hundred of them. For if they see him ready for them they do not dare to attack him, however thirsty for his blood their hatred makes them. The Subanos are all the triumphs of the arms of the Dapitans of which the sound and vigorous execution has drawn the former from their mountains and made settlements of men from savages scattered among the thickets, who are reduced to more civilized life.

It was on the island of Bohol that the Spanish navigator, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, about March 15, 1565, entered into a blood compact with Sicatuna, the Filipino chief of that island. He found Moros from Borneo trading with the Boholanos and also with the Subanu in northern Mindanao. The distance from Bohol to Dapitan is about 60 miles and easily covered by native sailing craft. The Boholanos still continue to trade with the Subanu at points along the west coast of the Zamboanga peninsula from Dapitan to Sindangan, and along the north coast from Langaran to Dapitan. Many of the Boholanos are expert fishermen and sailors, and some of these people bring their fleets of fishing boats into Subanu waters and gather large quantities of certain kinds of fish known as *bagon* and *culasi*, which are cured and packed in salt in large jars called *tinajas*.

As the Subanu generally do not own boats and are not accustomed to the sea, they do not know how to fish, and as they greatly enjoy this class of food they find it convenient to barter with the Boholanos for both fresh and cured fish.

The mixture of Visayan words with Moro and Subanu is due to the migration of the Visayans to the shores of northern Mindanao, beginning about 1600. Pigafetta, with the Magellan expedition in 1521, refers to the Moros and Visayans as engaged in trade between Cebu and Mindanao.

Mackinlay, in his Hand-book and Grammar of the Tagalog Language, says that "the Arabic words in Tagalog, which are hardly more than a dozen in number, evidently came in with the Mohammedan

religion, and upon the extinction of that faith around the mouth of the Pasig at Manila, all but a few words fell into disuse. Mohammedanism could hardly have become established in the Tagalog region before 1450 to 1500, as it came very slowly from India or Arabia to Java, and thence by way of Borneo and Sulu to the Bay of Manila and the Pasig valley. Some Arabic words were adopted by the Spanish and thus brought into the vocabulary of the Tagalog."

SLOW MODIFICATION OF CULTURE.

Accustomed as they are by nature or forced by necessity to occupy the isolated interior of the country, Combes observed their cultural backwardness by referring to the—

> natural barbarism of the Subanuns, living, as they do, in high, wild country, with as little sociability as animals, and having their houses placed a league apart, wherever one of them may be pleased to make himself a settlement. They lack civilization as well as human intercourse, for they are so opposed by nature to intercommunication that they grow old in their rancherias without being drawn by curiosity from their settlements, or seeing the sea, although some of them live within sound of its waves; and if necessity or gain does bring them in sight of its shores, they are contented with that, without seeking to attempt fortune through its dangers.

This lack of inquisitiveness by the Subanu as noted by Combes is not peculiar to them, for the writer has had occasion to observe a marked indifference on the part of members of other non-Christian tribes in Mindanao (Kalibugans, Samal Lutangans, Illanuns, and Magindanaos) to passing events of a novel nature. The well-known custom of Americans and Europeans of the rustic and middle classes to view strange sights with ignorant wonder and prolonged attention is markedly absent from the characteristics of the wild people of Mindanao, and especially from the Subanu. Even when temporarily visiting the larger coast towns, the Subanu give strict attention to the business that brings them there and usually, after its completion, make early departure for their homes.

As late as August, 1911, the writer observed Subanu (men of adult age) visiting the rancheria of Sindangan, on the west coast of the Zamboanga peninsula, viewing the sea, for the first time in their existence, with considerable equanimity. Finally one of the men rushed forward into the gentle surf and caught up with his two hands a quantity of the sea water, carrying it to his mouth, for the purpose of drinking to quench thirst, when he was seen to spit it out and to back away from the surf. When his companions advanced to learn the cause they were informed by him that the water was *umpet* (bitter) and unfit to drink. There was a general exclamation of surprise and disappointment that such a vast body of water as Sindangan Bay, evidently clean and pure, could not be used for drinking and cooking. It was explained to them that the alleged bitterness was due to the presence of salt held

in solution and in such a way that they could not see it but could taste it. The explanation was continued further to show the Subanu how the salt cakes were made by the Kalibugans, at certain of their coast rancherias, by the artificial evaporation of sea water. For years these Subanu had been trading vegetables, mountain rice, and corn in exchange for salt cakes, but had not the slightest idea how the cakes were made and no curiosity to find the source of supply. The Kalibugans had learned from the Chinese traders the process of making salt cakes from sea water. The Subanu are very fond of this salt (*masin*) to use with their food and are always ready to make a trade for it.

In spite of continued contact with these alien influences, the Subanu have preserved their tribal unity, their distinct customs, their dialect, and their religion. The situation is a remarkable one, considering their simple patriarchal form of government and lack of warlike instincts, and probably they could not have withstood the aggressive control of outside forces but for the fact that as this pressure became more and more persistent the Subanu moved farther and farther into the inaccessible interior. Here they found vast areas of rich virgin soil, wild fruits and vegetables in abundance, together with wild fowl and swine, and an abundance of fresh-water streams.

The strongest external influence has been that exerted by the Moros (Mohammedans), far exceeding the powerful efforts made by the Catholic Church through its zealous missionaries, backed up by government forces. As a result of the Moro influence, a new tribal name was long ago given those Subanu who became converts to Mohammedanism; such converts are Kalibugans (Kalibogans). The word is made up of the Visaya radical *libug* or *libog*, and the Magindanao-Sulu prefix *ka* and suffix *an*. The radical signifies "of mixed blood" or "of mixed faith" and may be applied to persons and animals; thus, the offspring of a free person and a slave; of one race with another; of a wild animal with a domesticated one; of one tribe with another; or a marriage between persons of different religious beliefs, as a Subanu with a Moro, or a Spaniard with a native. The particles *ka* and *an* are used to form derivative nouns, and in this construction the name Kalibugan signifies a person of mixed Subanu and Moro blood. In marriages of this combination the Subanu invariably becomes a convert to Islamism; the reverse has never been reported. Once a Mohammedan, always so, is the historical record of this faith throughout the world.

The Subanu who becomes a Kalibugan is at once freed from the stigma of being considered an infidel and is established upon a footing of friendliness and of freedom from many annoyances and burdens which the Moros have always placed upon the Subanu, including peonage and slavery. Having become a Kalibugan, the Subanu usually abandons the hills and becomes a coast dweller. Therefore the Kalibugan villages are found on the coast line of the Subanu country.

Christie says (1909) of the Kalibugans:

As a matter of fact, many of the people included under this name are of pure Subanu blood (converts to Mohammedanism). Personal observation of many of them has convinced me that in most of them the Subanun strain is much stronger than the Samal, the Ilanun, or the Magindanan. Indeed the majority of Kalibugan settlements are of Subanun speech, though close intercourse with Moro groups has led to the adoption of some foreign words; the economic life is Subanun, the Kalibugan making a living by agriculture of the Kaingin or forest-clearing type. Many Kalibugans in fact are merely Subanuns converted to Mohammedanism and mark the line of contact of Subanun culture with Islam, just as the "new Christians" mark that with Christianity.

Kalibugan settlements are started usually by the marriage of some Samal, Ilanun, or Magindanao fisherman or trader with one or more Subanu girls. This necessitates conversion on their part, and the family or families, if there are several Moros, serve as the nucleus of a Mohammedan community. Mohammedanism presents itself to the Subanu with the prestige of a superior civilization, and first the relatives of the Subanu wives of Moros and then other neighboring Subanu are attracted to the Mohammedan religion and culture. For a long time the customs and beliefs of such a community are mixed (the writer has seen Pagan religious ceremonies performed in Kalibugan villages), but the drift is constantly toward complete assimilation by the Moro culture. In the Kalibugan settlements of to-day we see going on before our eyes the process which constituted the various Moro tribes of Mindanao. An account of the origin and growth of the Kalibugan villages of the peninsula (Subanu country) might correctly be entitled, "How a Moro tribe is made."

I have often asked the natives, both Christian and non-Christian, to explain the difference between a Kalibugan and a Subanu. A native of the latter tribe has generally avoided a reply, conveying an impression to me that he strongly disapproved of the apostasy of his fellow tribesman. When an explanation came it was usually attended with a contemptuous expression of countenance or of words. I have observed instances of this contempt exhibited by Moros, in place of satisfaction and pleasure that a convert had been gained to Islam. Even among these savage people a backslider loses caste and seldom regains his former status among the members of his new organization and faith. From a respected Subanu the backslider does not become an equally respected Moro or Mohammedan. He is suspected by the Moros as not being sincere, and is an outcast from his maternal tribe, the Subanu.

Therefore these people, these apostates, have gathered together in separate villages where they have gradually acquired the distinctive name of Kalibugans. The name is sometimes used as a term of reproach when referring to bad conduct or the commission of a criminal act. Kalibugans generally lead a wretched existence and their settlements are usually the abode of poverty, distress, and illness.

The nearest relatives among the Subanu sometimes come to the relief of their apostate Kalibugans when death is about to claim them, or some enemy is seeking their undoing, or the strong arm of the law is reaching out to inflict punishment for misdeeds.

A Kalibugan carries his record with him in his name and in his affiliations. Among the various Pagan and Moro tribes of the panhandle of Mindanao, in the Sulu Archipelago and in the Basilan group, the Kalibugan is generally a vagabond; the door of welcome and prosperity seems closed to him among all classes of the native people. The Moros having general supervision over Kalibugan settlements provide for the maintenance of the Mohammedan hierarchy therein and thus hold these apostate Subanu in subjection and in obedience to the faith. Religious appointments are therefore held by Kalibugans, and in this manner they can be employed to proselytize among the heathen Subanu.

THE INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

The very name Subanu constitutes the possessor thereof a farmer.* His life is spent in the fields and forests. His sustenance is drawn from the earth by primitive agricultural methods. He seeks the isolated and wildest portions of the interior and relies upon his strength and native ingenuity to cope with nature and wring from it a means of living for himself and his family.

The method of cultivation pursued by the Subanu is known as the *kaingin* system. It consists of clearing a piece of forest and planting the land by the use of a sharpened stick to make holes in the ground to receive the seed. The ground is not plowed, spaded, or harrowed, and after the second season is usually abandoned for a new clearing. Agricultural development is seriously retarded by want of proper methods, the lack of efficient labor, and the varying prices of the staple products. The native planter can contend with low prices and insufficient and inefficient labor with much better success than can the Americans and Europeans likewise engaged. The latter have not only more expensive methods of living, but their cost of operating plantations is much greater. The *kaingin* method of farming involves a great waste of labor and materials and must be eventually interdicted by appropriate laws, rigidly enforced. Under section 25 of Act No. 1148 of the Philippine Commission:

> The cutting, clearing, or destroying of the public forests or the forest reserves, or any part thereof, for the purpose of making *kaingins*, without lawful authority, is hereby prohibited. And whoever, in violation of this provision, shall cut, clear, or destroy the same, for such purpose, or shall wilfully or negligently set fire thereto, shall, upon conviction by a court of competent jurisdiction, be punished by a fine not exceeding a sum equivalent to twice the regular government charge upon the timber so cut, cleared, or destroyed, and,

*The sole instance of the word in the accompanying vocabulary is *somoctoloan noc subanon*, with the definition "peasant."—W. C.

in addition thereto by imprisonment not exceeding thirty days, in the discretion of the court.

The author has held many meetings with the mountain people, including both Christians and non-Christians, and has explained to them the great waste attendant upon the practice of the *kaingin* method of agriculture. The cleared land is not cultivated in any sense, but only planted between the stumps. This method may be briefly described in its regular order of development as follows:

1. Ruthless cutting of timber, saving not even desirable trees for shade.
2. Leaving the timber, good and bad, where it falls until dry enough to burn.
3. Indiscriminate burning of all fallen timber, with no effort to preserve any portion of it for lumber or for building purposes.
4. No efforts to improve the land by removing stumps, partially burned timber, or stones.
5. The land thus cleared is planted to rice, corn, *camotes*, *ubi*, *gabi*, tobacco, vegetables, *buyo*, and occasionally some fruit like bananas and papayas. Seed is placed in small holes made with sharpened sticks; tubers, cuttings, and young plants are transplanted.
6. The soil is moist, covered with rich humus, very fertile and easily cultivated, but soon dries out by reason of the absence of all shade, although the ashes and humus afford considerable protection from the burning rays of the sun and the drying effect of the winds.
7. After planting, the clearing is generally neglected. If the seeds germinate, the plants take care of themselves. The weeds and second tree growth have an equal chance with the crops.
8. The crops receive attention only to prevent their destruction by monkeys, rats, mice, wild hogs, wild fowl, deer, and insect pests.
9. Crops are harvested when mature and the surplus, over and above that required for daily consumption, is stored in large cylindrical baskets, in size about 5 by 10 feet, open at both ends, the lower end resting on a platform raised about 4 feet above the ground. These granaries are called *lulu tongalang* and consist of several baskets placed side by side and covered over with a grass or nipa shed. The baskets are usually made from the split stalks of the *bagaki* rattan, woven into a large mat of little squares; when of the required dimensions, this is rolled into the cylindrical basket and the two ends fastened together with strips of *bejuco* rattan. These baskets are sometimes made from the inner bark of the *bakawan* tree or from the dried fronds of the areca palm.
10. This terminates the first year of the *kaingin* method of agriculture as followed by the Subanu. In beginning the second year an effort is made to burn off the grass, weeds, and second tree growth that have made great headway during the progress of the first year's crops. The burning must be done during the dry period and is generally only partially successful, but the ashes mulch the soil and preserve the moisture therein.
11. There is no plowing or other form of upturning of the soil. The seeds are placed in holes made by a sharpened stick, as at the beginning of the first year, but they do not germinate as successfully as when the land is cleaner and more moist. The refuse growth of the first year has diminished the fertility of the soil.
12. It now becomes a question of the survival of the strongest—crops, weeds, or second tree growth. The same protection as during the first year must be exercised against monkeys, wild hogs, rats, mice, deer, and insects.

13. If the crops survive against all obstacles, harvesting follows, but with greater difficulty than in the first year, owing to the established headway of the grass, weeds, and second growth. The surplus crops are stored at the close of the second year of the *kaingin* cultivation.

14. At the beginning of the third year the old *kaingin* is abandoned if the *cogon* grass shows strong development and the second tree growth has made vigorous headway. A new *kaingin* is now sought, the forest cut down and burned, and the same process of cultivation and harvesting followed as in the first and second years.

15. If the old *kaingin* is cultivated for the third and fourth years the same method is observed as in the first and second years, but with diminishing success, by reason of the lack of proper tillage.

16. The Subanu justifies the *kaingin* method of agriculture on the basis of ignorance, poverty, lack of proper implements, and the absence of working animals. There must also be added the lack of incentive to improve, because of the exploitation of these hill people by the coast dwellers. Whenever the former gave signs of prosperity, the latter formed and finally executed schemes to gain the entire surplus of the hill people. To rid themselves, as far as possible, from these parasites, the Subanu moved farther inland and sought the most inaccessible places for their temporary houses.

17. The *kaingin* farmer can not successfully develop the *cogon* clearing, his only implements being the *pes* (chopping knife), with a blade about 14 inches long and with a round or square head; the *hilamon* (digging knife), smaller than the *pes;* the *gwasay* (grubbing knife and adze), a sort of axe with a blade about 13 inches long and about 5 inches wide at the cutting edge, and tapering back to about an inch at the head. This knife is fastened in a handle corresponding in form and size to that used with the American axe. For harvesting rice and digging roots and tubers smaller knives of various shapes are used.

18. *Cogon* grass is a rapidly growing plant of tough fiber and sometimes reaches a height of 10 to 12 feet. When thrown down by the wind and rain it forms an impenetrable, tangled mass which will yield only to the knife and fire. When young and about 10 inches high the grass is tender and excellent for grazing. When 18 inches to 2 feet it may be cut for cattle fodder. When 5 to 8 feet in height the grass is cut for thatching, especially when the nipa palm can not be obtained.

The *kaingin* method of farming has deforested many thousands of acres of the finest timber in the Subanu country and has been very destructive of such natural resources. The practice still prevails to a large extent, both in and out of the Subanu territory. The law prohibiting the system is ineffective for want of sufficient forestry inspectors and lack of funds to employ them. It is evident that this system is not profitable either to the government or to the hill people, nor is it the best that can be done by the government for the welfare of these people. The Public Law Act No. 926, as amended by No. 979 of the Philippine Commission, provides a homestead (free land) of 40 acres for natives of the islands. The conditions under which this presentation is made by the government involve many complications and delays connected with the cadastral survey of the land, in order to secure a reliable title in the name of the native, who stands in urgent need of a permanent home and a greater degree of prosperity than he has ever before possessed.

Placing the wandering Christians, Moros, and Pagans permanently upon homesteads by the government will do more to civilize them and add to their prosperity and that of the government than any other measure that can be undertaken for the development of these dependent people. The best method for this work requires most careful study and due consideration of all of the factors entering into the solution of the problem—such, for example, are the tribal relations, tribal customs, religious peculiarities, prescriptive land titles, acquired rights, surrender of weapons and interdiction of their use, the improvement of trails, the establishment of government exchanges and trading stores, the operation of model tribal ward farms, and the harmonizing of all differences between the hill people and the coast dwellers or shore people.

The dependent peoples of the various Moro and Pagan tribes are wards of the government and must receive instruction and supervision carried out by government officials in the most faithful and patient manner. They must be taught the advantages of a permanent home, the benefits to be derived from the legal possession of land, its proper cultivation, the maintenance and education of a family, the making of an honest living, respect for the rights of others, and obedience to the law. As these people must be developed along industrial lines, even before school training is provided for to any considerable extent, it is imperative that the government devise ways and means for promoting and maintaining agriculture, trade, and commerce among them, thus bringing their labor and the products of their labor to the markets of the world. To this end the writer has great faith in the exchanges, trading stores, and tribal ward farms organized by him in 1904 and 1906, while governor of the District of Zamboanga.

The Subanu cultivate principally mountain rice, corn, *camote*, and tobacco. Next to rice their main dependence for food is upon the *camote* (sweet potato or yam). Two other tubers or esculent roots are grown for food, known as *gabi* (*gabe*) and *ubi* (*ube*).* Both are cultivated like the potato and must be thoroughly boiled in order to destroy their poisonous constituent before being used for food. The *camote*, *gabi*, and *ubi* are also made into preserves and sweetmeats; they are roasted as well as boiled. *Gabi* and *ubi* throw up stalks with large leaves, while the native *camote* produces a running vine that

*Lack of botanical identification of these vegetables is quite sufficient complication in itself; the confusion is increased by the doubtful English names of *camote*. The yam is properly one of several species of *Dioscorea*, the sweet potato *Batatas edulis;* the two articles of food are in no likelihood of being confused. But in the United States, more particularly in the South, yam is frequently applied to the sweet potato. I infer that here we are under the influence of this dialectic usage. The *camote*, so far as the philological record may instruct us, is clearly *Batatas*. The name was transported by the galleons from Acapulco to Manila, for it is the Aztec *camotl* ibericized; the possibility that in yet more distant and far less readily comprehensible transport *camotl* of Mexico has become *kumara* of Polynesia is attractive but wide of the present inquiry. The true *Dioscorea* yam is here identifiable as *ubi*, the Polynesian *ufi*. The *gabi* of this text is undoubtedly the Polynesian *kape*, the bitter giant taro, *Colocasia*.—W. C.

covers the ground with a mass of leaves that are sometimes boiled and used as greens. The Subanu occasionally cultivate a tuber called *camote-cahoy* (*camoting-cahoy*, *guccu* or cassava), whose fecula is known as tapioca. In preparing the root for food it is necessary to grate, wash, and press it so as to express the juice. The remaining material is the flour or tapioca, which is white or yellowish-white in color, sweetish in taste, and somewhat insipid. It is much valued in medicine on account of its digestibility and is often used as food for children and sick people. *Camote-cahoy* grows above ground as a shrub, having a single stalk 4 to 6 feet in height, with a tuft of succulent leaves at the top.

When the rice crop fails the Subanu make use of *buri* and *lumbia* or *lumbay*. Both belong to the palm family and grow to trees of large size, topped with large fan-like leaves, all gathered at the apex of the tree, like the coconut palm. The interior of the entire trunk of these trees forms a starchy flour which is used for food and is of great nutritive value. The *bagsang* palm is used in a similar manner, and also the *pagahan* and *canong* palms, each of which supplies a starchy flour or kind of sago that forms an excellent article of food. The Subanu do not cultivate any of these sago palms, but search for them in the forests, especially along the streams, and mark the localities so that when this class of food is required the trees can be found and converted into flour.

When cultivated crops entirely fail because of droughts and the ravages of insect pests, the Subanu must resort to the several varieties of the sago palm and to certain wild edible roots for food. In some localities they cultivate an excellent squash, egg-plant, and melon. To some extent bananas, papayas, pineapples, *nangcas*, and *lanzones* are cultivated for fruit. There are several varieties of bananas in the Subanu country, some of which are eaten raw, while others must be cooked to prepare them for food. Pedro Delgado enumerates and describes 57 varieties of bananas grown in the Philippine Islands, varying greatly in form and taste, and all available for food.

Fences are made of split bamboo and small poles about the size of the thumb. The poles are set upright in the ground and fastened together at the top and midway by interlacing of tough roots (*baging*) or with whole *bejuco* rattans. The bamboo fences are flimsily made; sometimes only rattan strands are used with neither posts nor other supports. The more civilized Subanu employ fence-like hedges of a rapidly growing tree, set in the ground as stakes as close together as possible; these stakes never fail to take root. When 6 to 8 feet high they are lopped off and interlaced with split rattans.

To a limited extent the Subanu cultivate coconuts and employ the nuts for food and for trade. Hemp (*abaca*) is grown and the fiber used for rope and for weaving cloth, the surplus being exchanged in the markets for manufactured articles. From the forests the Subanu gather gutta-percha, *almaciga*, *bulitic*, and beeswax, all used in trade.

As might be expected, these people are expert woodsmen and possess an acute sense of locality, which enables them to travel the trackless forests and thick swamps of the tropical jungles without losing their way. They are therefore trustworthy and tireless guides and, being accustomed to living on wild fruit and roots, in emergency can endure long journeys with the minimum food supply.

To supplement the use of tobacco and for chewing purposes the Subanu cultivate the areca palm which produces the favorite betel nut, the pit of which is overlaid with a thick greenish-colored meat that is split into sections for chewing. The nut is somewhat smaller than the pecan and retains its green color when mature. In connection with this nut there is used the *buyo* leaf, taken from the *buyo* plant cultivated like hops and trained upon poles or low-growing trees. The entire chewing quid is composed of a small leaf of tobacco, a section of betel-nut, one *buyo* leaf, and a small quantity of paste made of shell lime and ginger root mixed sometimes with coconut oil and sometimes with water. Women generally omit the tobacco, as do the Christian Filipinos. The Moros and Pagans always use the tobacco in this combination. This root gives the dark-red color to the spittle, lips, and teeth while chewing, which makes the habit so disgusting to foreigners. When he can afford it the Subanu purchases, usually from the Chinese trader, a few pieces (squares about the size of loaf sugar) of gambier (terra japonica) for mixture with the other parts of the chewing quid. Gambier acts as an astringent, heals mouth sores, reduces the sensitiveness of filed teeth, and heightens the dark-red color of the spittle. This remarkable combination for chewing is placed in a betel-nut box, which may be suspended from the shoulder, carried in a bag or basket at the side, like a haversack, or in a belt or sash tied about the waist. The betel-nut quid is considered more useful than food when severe exertion becomes necessary, and all classes of natives resort to its use. The habit when once formed is difficult to abandon, and in that respect is akin to the opium habit, but is not by any means so deleterious and degrading to the human system.

The Subanu cultivate the areca palm, the *buyo* plant, tobacco, and ginger root. The lime is obtained from the burning of sea shells, which is generally done by Kalibugans and Moros, and therefore must be obtained from them as a matter of trading. When for any purpose it is desired to employ Subanu as guides or for other form of labor, their attitude toward the work and their cheerfulness and efficiency in performing it will be greatly improved and enhanced by supplying them beforehand with mountain rice and the materials for the betel-nut chewing quid.

Subanu are very fond of smoking a sort of cigarette made of native leaf-tobacco and the soft inner husk of the corn. The tobacco is wrapped within this husk and the whole is so folded as to take the shape

of a cornucopia; the small end is placed in the mouth when smoking. In the absence of corn husks, dried banana leaves or the nipa frond are used as wrappers for cigarette smoking.

When out of native leaf-tobacco, if they can afford the luxury, Subanu will purchase, from abulante traders, the famous Chinese *hun* tobacco that so delights the palate of the non-Christians of the Moro Province. In order properly to control the importation of this tobacco in that province and prevent smuggling, the Legislative Council enacted two laws in March and April, 1906, which provide that "each distributing agent shall sell the tobacco delivered to him to Moros and Pagans, in quantities of not to exceed ten pounds, to any individual during a calendar month for cash, at a price fixed by the District Secretary."

The Subanu are neither boatmen nor fishermen, and whenever it becomes necessary for them to make journeys by water they seek the assistance of their Kalibugan relatives who have become coast dwellers, or of some friendly Moros or Filipinos. These sea trips are very seldom taken and only resorted to in case of emergency or when travel by land is impossible. Although vegetarians in their diet, Subanu will eat fish, fowl, and the meat of the wild hog and deer when their crops have failed or the supplies stored have run low; in some localities in recent years they have raised goats and cattle for food, using the latter for work also.

CONSTRUCTION AND LOCATION OF HOUSES.

With few exceptions the houses of the Subanu are of temporary construction, due to their wandering habits, to the *kaingin* farming, and to raids and exploitation by the shore people. Native materials are used with no attempt at ornamentation and very little regard for personal comfort. No matter what the size, the house consists of but one room which may be temporarily subdivided into apartments by hanging mats and screens. There are no windows as such. Light is admitted by the one or more doorways and through numerous openings in the imperfect walls and roof. The floor is elevated above the ground from 3 to 30 feet, according to the nature of the soil, the kind of building material available, the danger from predatory animals, and the nearness and character of the shore people. The building is supported upon numerous poles of varying size, according to the convenience of obtaining the material. Where a more permanent structure is desired, heavy logs are used for uprights. No matter how many doorways may be provided, entrance to the house is restricted to one only. This is a matter of precaution. Sometimes a pole stairway with steps is provided, but usually only a single pole with notches cut in it, which can be used conveniently and safely only by a person with bare feet. Boys and girls run freely up and down these notched poles; older persons support themselves by their hands when on the ladders. Men and women

alike enter the house from the ladders facing inward; they come out backward and descend the notched pole in the same position; but where the house has a ladder with treads they come out and descend forward.

The Subanu seldom build their houses in trees, except in the case of small watch towers used by guards for protecting the crops from wild animals and birds.

The materials for thatching are the leaves of the nipa palm, the coconut palm, and *cogon* grass. For the walls, *bagaki* rattan is used when available and in its absence any of the thatch materials are employed. The floor is always open; that is, composed of strips of *palma brava*, split bamboo, or small *tangal* poles, laid about an inch apart and bound to the stringers or joists with split *bejuco* rattan. The open floor permits of the free circulation of air and of the passing of all refuse to the ground below. This open floor is of great economic importance to the Subanu and is generally used by all classes of Moros and Pagans and by many Filipinos. The ground underneath the house becomes a refuse heap where the domestic animals of the owner search for food and find a place of refuge from the sun and rain. When in the course of time this pile of waste rises near the floor, the Subanu owner may abandon his house and erect another or, if not already at a considerable height, decide to raise the building some 5 feet or more. It never occurs to this child of the forest and hills that the refuse can be removed from time to time and destroyed by fire, as an economic and sanitary project of the first importance. Houses are built near fresh water if possible, provided isolation and security can be obtained.

The Subanu are a peace-loving people. They love the solitude and quiet of undisturbed natural surroundings. So long and persistently have they been hunted by the raiding Moros and Filipinos that they seek seclusion and usually establish their houses where it is most difficult to gain an approach to them—for example, near the bottom of a deep gulch or upon the projecting point of some hill or on some mountain peak. From a nearby elevation one may catch a glimpse of the shack through the swaying foliage and then search for hours to find the blind trail leading to it.

The safe placing of the home is of prime importance and after that comes the location of the *kaingin* farm. They are not often near together, since fertile land does not always coincide with a favorable spot for the protection of the house. In the event of a wide distance between the house and the farm the Subanu usually makes a small planting about the former; about the more or less permanent home he may erect small shacks for the storage of harvested crops, although in most instances some portion of the house is used for that purpose. If the granary is placed under the house that section is protected from the receipt of waste material passed through the open floor.

The furnishings of the house are usually of the barest necessities, especially where the building has been placed in an exposed location and the occupants may be interrupted by visits from strangers. The cooking may be done on the ground and the food carried into the house for eating, or the women may employ the small burned-clay stove in the house and prepare the food on the floor. No chairs or stools are used. When resting the members of the family squat upon their haunches and can easily maintain this position for hours. The posture in sitting is that of a squat on the full soles with the buttocks just clear of the ground or floor, knees and calves apart and the arms resting on the knees. When the buttocks rest upon the floor the calves are approximated to the thighs and the arms are brought forward over the knees. When the posture is free and there is no rest for the back the body inclines forward on the knees. This posture is the same for men, women, and children. In general it is observed that the women maintain a wider angle between the legs when sitting and more frequently support the back. The family sleep on the floor, using grass or rattan mats and pillows made from tree cotton (*kapok*).

The women boil rice between banana leaves in an earthenware vessel, or in an iron pot when it can be obtained. One leaf section is placed at the bottom and the other is used as a cover. When the water boils away, more is added until the rice is thoroughly cooked.

MANUFACTURES.

The women excel in the making of pottery and in the weaving of cloth. Both men and women engage in the construction of mats, baskets, hats, and screens from grass, *bejuco*, bamboo, *bagaki* (reed), and *palma brava*. These mats are colored by dyeing and by burning. The grass mats are colored with native dyes, and those made from heavier materials of *bejuco*, bamboo, *bagaki*, and *palma brava* are burned. Several colors (principally shades of red, yellow, and green) are produced with dyes, but these colors will fade in the sun and when washed. Both the coloring and burning are sometimes arranged so as to produce various designs and even to represent animals and birds which the people are accustomed to see. Light materials, such as leaves and cornhusks, are fastened to the mats in forms to represent the designs, and when dry are carefully burned off. To deepen the color, more material is laid on and greater heat produced.

Cloth is made from the fiber of hemp, banana stalks, and the leaves of the pineapple. Baskets are made from the leaves of the *pandan* grass, of the *buri* palm, and of the *nitu*.

Pillows are made from *kapok* (tree cotton) and from the catkins or fruit of a species of wild hop that grows as a low bush.

Dyes are obtained from the leaves and roots of herbs and from the bark and leaves of trees. Safflower or *alazor* produces both red

and yellow colors. The *balanti* tree supplies a black coloring matter. The roots of *bancuro* afford a red color. The *bagolibas* tree yields a dye of yellowish-brown. The *sibucao raltar* tree furnishes a red coloring matter and is very abundant in the forests. The *bacauan* tree, found in all mangrove swamps, yields a reddish coloring matter.

In most of the Subanu settlements men may be found who are fairly good wood-carvers and others who are capable of fashioning from steel, brass, and iron the various implements used in agriculture and in household work and hunting. The men prepare various forms of nets or snares from *bejuco*, bamboo, and hemp fiber for the capture of wild fowl and wild pigs. A bellows is constructed from bamboo and *bejuco* for blacksmith work.

Wild Subanu and other pagan tribes make fire by rubbing dry sticks in either the plow or the drill method. The sticks are well seasoned and are kept in the shelter of the house until needed; in journeys they are carried on the person in baskets. The spark of fire developed by the friction is caught in a nest of dry grass or dry bamboo scrapings. The fireplace is a sand box within the house, commonly in a small room which serves as kitchen, but if in the living room it is set in a corner. The smoke escapes as best it may through the window and door openings and the house is generally much smoked. In boats a small baked clay stove is used; this has scalloped sides, is some 18 inches long by 6 inches wide and 5 inches deep. Those open at the bottom are set within a sand box when in use; those closed with an earthenware bottom receive the fire without the sand box. In the open country, fires when used outside of the houses are made in a pit in the ground, kindled with grass and leaves, and brought to heat with dry fagots and limbs; the food is roasted above the flame. Sometimes fires are built under the houses for the purpose of smoking the interior.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

So far as known the Subanu have never congregated into villages, as do the Moros and Filipinos. Their tribal government is patriarchal and each chief governs by paternal right, subject to the will of the people. Such communal chief has the title of *timuai* and holds it only while acting as headman of the community. The term *timuai* (*timuway* or *timway*) is a Magindanao Moro word meaning chief or leader, adopted by the Subanu and by some other hill tribes in Mindanao to designate their headmen. The title was first used by Tabunaway, ruler of Magindanao (Kutu Watu, Kota Batu, Cotabato) about A. D. 1470. Tabunaway was succeeded by Sharif Mohamad Kabungsuwan, about A. D. 1475, from whom all present-day Moros profess their descent.

The Moro title of *datu* is sometimes taken by Subanu in addition to the Subanu title of *timuai*. Both signify chief, but the latter conveys greater power in that it combines in one person both civil and

religious authority. The title *datu* conveys only civil authority. The old Subanu title of *panungo* signifies "chief of chiefs" and ceases upon the death of the man upon whom the unusual honor has been conferred by a council of *timuai*. No young man can hold the title of *panungo*, as it is reserved for men of age, long experience, popularity, and success.

When superseded by another headman the title of *timuai* becomes honorary until the late incumbent may again be called to assume the direction of his community. Once a *timuai*, the recipient of the honor is liable at any time during his life to further active service as headman (especially if he has been faithful in the discharge of public duty), when not prevented by physical infirmities. In some cases where such headmen have been notably efficient in leadership and very popular with the people, the commonalty have insisted upon his remaining in office until the very moment of his death. Among the Subanu the family is the governmental unit. The father is the head of the family and its absolute ruler. He holds the power of life and death. An association or confederation of families forms a community under the leadership of a *timuai*. Family rights are supreme and therefore the right of secession from the community inheres in the head of the family. When a family becomes dissatisfied with the conduct and control of a headman the father secedes and places his family under the domination of some other *timuai*. This does not always involve a change of residence but more often only a change of allegiance. Under these conditions the family becomes sufficient unto itself as an independent governing unit in all matters except those pertaining to its relation with other families in the same class. The tribal government of the Subanu has evolved the executive *timuai* and clothed that official with the necessary authority to adjust the relations between the families of a confederation or community. The size of such a community depends upon the ability and popularity of the *timuai* in charge. Families go and come and give the headman due notice of the change. In this respect perfect freedom is accorded the families.

Recognizing the independence of the families as a fundamental principle of Subanu social order, these people have thus far resisted all appeals and efforts by the Spanish and American governments to gather them into towns. The Subanu dearly cherish the independence and freedom of the family unit and look with suspicion and even fear upon the many restrictions that must of necessity be imposed upon people when they are closely associated in communities. As soon as the young men take to themselves wives they break away from the old family home and establish new family units at remote points, where they can enjoy all the freedom of their peculiar nomadic life.

At various times the Jesuit priests have made strenuous and persistent efforts to establish village life among the Subanu, especially in the sub-district of Dapitan, but the plan was not successful.

CHARACTERISTICS AND HABITS.

The Subanu are lighter in color than either the Moros or the Filipinos who surround them. They have high foreheads, but rather flat noses; mild countenances, with well-set and expressive eyes. The hair is long, straight, and jet-black. While these people are not wholly beardless, usually very little hair appears upon the face. The head is covered with a heavy mat that is coarse and refractory. When the men permit the hair to grow long, they fold and tie it in a knot at the back of the head, as do the women. The latter do not approve of the men wearing long hair, looking upon it as a mark of weakness. The women use their turban or head-cloth to hold the hair in place. They sometimes do up with the hair a braid of hemp or banana fiber dyed of a color to match the hair. This fiber braid is used as a switch of false hair to augment the mass where the natural hair is thin and insufficient from any cause. Sometimes a small tuft of hair grows upon the chin of the males, and the possessor favors and protects it with much patience and pride.

The limbs are well rounded, clean, and supple. The whole form is attractive in youth and in middle age, because of fine muscular development, light color, and general freedom from deformities. The young women are graceful in form, of pleasing countenance, modest and industrious. All native women in the tropics lose their attractive features early in life, owing to the climate, the severities of motherhood, and the burdensome life of the wife. No form of labor is too severe for a Subanu woman to undertake. The men are fairly industrious as a class and, besides preparing their *kaingins* for seeding and following later with the harvest and storage of crops, they make long journeys on foot in search of forest products (wax, copal, nuts, and gutta-percha) which they may exchange for cloth, beads, wire, iron, and steel at the markets or with passing traders.

The large toe of many males is turned inward to a marked degree, giving the appearance of abnormally projecting away from the other toes and beyond them. This peculiar development suggests a prehensory employment of the member. The big toe is used frequently for holding fiber and *bejuco* while braiding them into rope and for other purposes.

Men do not use bows and arrows; children employ them as toys.

The first clothing of a boy is a loin cloth; that of a girl a petticoat. Children go naked until the age of puberty. The facts of sexual life are not hidden from the children; they grow up with them as a matter of course. Marriageable young men and maidens are not segregated in separate houses, as with some tribes. The family is held intact with the father as absolute ruler. Girls have little or no recreation, but are occupied with household duties from a tender age. Boys play and hunt.

The Subanu do not tattoo, but they have a name for the practice, *putik* or *lulik*, derived from the Visayans, who are very freely tattooed.

A peculiar attitude of the males when resting is to lean against some support and then raise one foot and place it against the knee of the other leg; this position is changed from one leg to the other, so as to rest both feet.

Circumcision, freely practised by the Moros as a religious rite of Semitic origin, is rare among the Subanu and is not practised at all by the wildest of these tribesmen. Where circumcision is in use among the pagan tribes of Mindanao incision is equally in use. Instead of cutting the preputium transversely this consists of slitting it longitudinally and allowing the skin to fall away on each side and to heal in that position. There is no circumcision of women.

When on land the Subanu always retire from view when defecating and are sedulous to bury the excreta, with the idea that the bodily refuse is morbific and must be avoided, but with no thought of scatomantic possibility or sympathetic magic. In micturition the squatting posture is the rule and girls and adults screen themselves with the clothing or retire from view; they wash after the operation. The Moros observe the same posture, as do all of their religion; the Christian Filipino men stand.

Cleanliness of body is not a pronounced virtue of the Subanu. They do not bathe as do the Moros. The latter, as a tenet of their religion, cleanse the body more frequently than any other of the inhabitants of the southern islands, including the Chinese, Europeans, and Americans. While much attention is given by the Moros to bathing the body, and especially to certain portions of it, like the Subanu they are very neglectful of their clothing, which in many instances is never washed. The garments are worn without cleansing until they fall to pieces. In this connection it is necessary to keep in mind that, usually, the garments used by both Moros and Pagans are few and simple, and generally the same for both males and females. The children go naked until about ten years of age. The garments of the adult males and females consist of trousers, petticoat, jacket, and turban or head-cloth. The youth of both sexes wear the same article of dress and, as before stated, the children are generally not provided with clothes. The women also wear ear ornaments, long strings of colored beads about the neck, and brass rings on the lower arms and on the legs below the knee. The ears are pierced when children are young, and the hole enlarged gradually by wearing a small coil of split *bejuco* rattan, which tends to open out and increase the size of the opening until it will receive a circular piece of wood about an inch in diameter. The opening is now allowed to collapse and when not used for ornaments is employed to hold a newly rolled or partly smoked cigarette or cigar, or some small article of frequent use.

The Subanu are fond of bright colors in clothing and jewelry. The more grotesque the variety and arrangement the better are they pleased. This fondness for adornment among the women and young men leads often to the undoing of the family by reason of the fact that the ornaments (always of brass, copper, and colored glass) are sold to them by Filipino, Chinese, and Moro traders at prices outrageously above the true value. The writer has investigated many such cases of swindling and fraud and has brought to justice some of the perpetrators of such acts. One instance may be cited to show the artlessness and folly of a Subanu who was persuaded to exchange a full-grown ox for a brass ring with a colored-glass setting. The animal was worth not less than 70 pesos and the ring much less than 1 peso. To save these hill people from much suffering through the operations of defrauding traders, the writer devised and organized the Moro exchange system of public markets and trading stores in the early part of 1904, and opened the first establishment at Zamboanga on September 1 of that year. Since then more than thirty such trading stations have been opened in the District of Zamboanga, where the hill people have gathered by thousands and ascertained and obtained the highest current market value, through the government superintendent, for the products of their labor, and made purchases of necessary manufactured articles at the lowest current market price.

Various methods are resorted to in counting, such as tying knots in a strip of split *bejuco*; arranging objects in a line, such as shells, small stones, kernels of corn or rice. In some instances the fingers are used or a combination of the fingers and small objects. For example, the shells, stones or kernels are arranged in groups of five, corresponding to the fingers of one hand. These groups are counted up to ten, corresponding to the number of fingers on both hands. In some cases counting is accomplished by cutting notches on a stick and these notches may be cut in groups of five or arranged consecutively, according to the fancy of the person thus engaged. Counting by use of objects arranged in lines and groups may have been acquired from the Chinese traders who have worked over the islands for centuries.

Upon arriving at the age of puberty many of the men and women grind and blacken their teeth. This practice is not only very painful, but greatly detracts from their personal appearance and leads to digestive troubles through want of proper mastication of food. Sometimes the teeth are ground down to the gums and the stumps fall out and painful ulcers ensue. The writer has persistently followed a course of constant opposition to this pernicious habit with rather small but encouraging success. The practice is not of religious origin, but appears to have been resorted to many years ago by reason of the belief that pearly-white teeth belonged to animals like dogs and cats, of which the Subanu have many, and that man, as a superior animal, must

change the color of his teeth if he wished to maintain his supremacy over the lower animals. The writer has discussed this question with many Moros and Pagans who follow the practice and has pointed out to them the fact that the colored races, generally throughout the world, consider the white man as of a superior race and seek in various ways to modify the color of their skin by bleaching it and by marriage with the white races; that in preparation for marriage many Moro and Pagan women resort to a slow and rather painful process to whiten the skin, even though only temporary results are attained; that the white races highly prize white teeth as a sign of cleanliness, good health, intelligence, and civilization; that therefore the Moros and Pagans should aspire to follow the habits of the white man regarding his teeth and avoid much suffering, as well as vastly improve their appearance. Some success has attended this effort to improve sanitary conditions among the hill people and the shore people. In some cases the men have brought their wives and children to the governor to show him the progress made in the proper preservation of their teeth.

The superstitious nature of the Subanu and Moros is also illustrated by their refusal to give their names except through a third party. The interrogator should always ask an acquaintance, friend, or some member of the family of the person questioned, for information as to his name, and the reply must come from such third party without inquiry of the second party. The reason assigned is that these people do not wish to be considered like the egotistic crow who cries about and incessantly calls his name. The natives throughout the Philippines, where crows abound, have named the bird according to their interpretation of its well-known call, for example: in Subanu, *quak*; in Visayan, *awak;* in Magindano Moro, *kuak;* in Sulu Moro, *wak;* in Tagalog, *wak;* in Malay, *gagak;* in Yakan, *uwak.**

The Subanu practice polygamy, but not as extensively as the Moros. They have a high regard for the marriage bond and are faithful in the marital relation. Polyandry is occasionally resorted to where men are too poor to provide the *laxa* (dowry) required to secure a wife, and two of them join in the purchase of one woman. The *laxa* is paid to the father of the bride. In some Subanu communities the women are considerably in excess of the men, but even under such circumstances and the ignominy of remaining celibate, these native women are opposed to the practice of polyandry. Marriages are performed by the *timuai* or chief of a settlement, and he may be rewarded for his

*The custom is of wide extent among primitive people in many widely scattered regions, and, so far as we have been able to collate the reasons assigned, this objection of the Subanu is but a pretext. In general the name is so much a part of the spiritual essence of the man that the man hesitates to give it over to the possible thaumaturgy of a stranger. In the Semitic system and in later developments therefrom the highest observance of religion involves the avoidance of the ineffable name, the employment of substitutes, and in the highest act of worship the utterance of the name indistinguishable in the din of the temple instruments of music.—W. C.

services if the groom is able to make a gift. The dowry is generally paid in the form of cloth, Chinese jars, and brass gongs. The payment may be made in any article of value agreed upon between the father of the bride and the groom. Actual money is rarely used for this purpose, as it is possessed in very limited amount, if at all, by these people; those of the far interior never handle money, but gain a few manufactured articles through the process of bartering raw products for them, and always thereby suffer loss in dealing with the wandering traders.

The Subanu possess a rich folk-lore which they are not altogether averse to make known to the stranger, especially if he comes equipped with the sanction and interposition of the *timuai*. Their short tales generally seem vulgar to the Christian and are indulged in as stories to create a laugh and make the narrator appear as a "good fellow." Their legends are prolonged and serious accounts of the alleged experiences of imaginary persons, gods, and mythical headmen. The details of these experiences are given in a natural and easy manner and by the use of terms and relations that are common to the daily life of the people. The narration is given usually in an ordinary tone of voice, but may be recited in a sort of singing tone that produces a weird effect at night in the forest when the face of the chanter is lighted by the glare of the torches.

In the course of such narratives mention has been made of the following characters of pure myth or of dim history, in the present stage of our knowledge it being quite impossible to reach a definite determination:

Datu nong Mitom Gawasa nong Medendum, Timuai Dogbuluan Getunan, Timuai Datu Lumugun, Timuai Datu Magutanga, these being mentioned as chiefs in the myths.

Bai Binubung and Bai Punbenua, mythical princesses.

Datu Magujabang Pungobii Megligat Dali Ondao, characterized as the chief of the land of the setting sun.

Timuai Datu Magbayaja, spoken of as a great *balian* and one of the most potent of the *diuata*.

Timuai Datu Pogowanen, whose residence is in the sky.

Timuai Datu Menelenga, a battle spirit in command of the sea depths.

Timuai Datu Menelengman, also in the sea.

Timuai Datu Gunlu or Munlu or Makaayaga, the chief of the *manamat* or evil spirits of the body.

Timuai Datu Magaboligan, chief of the evil spirits of the rivers.

According to the Subanu cult all dreams are under the control of the spirits who thereby express their will; all the Subanu dream, therefore each person is considered to have a sentient soul within his body and a corresponding spirit somewhere external. Dreams are the communion of soul and spirit, but they are not of private interpretation. It is the province to the *balian* to read the visions of the night and to explain their purport with the assistance of the lines in the palm of

the hand. The spirits may come upon earth in a form resembling that of the person who has the counterpart soul.

The Subanu have so long been in subjection to the Mohammedans and Christians who surround them, and have been compelled to pay tribute and obey the commands of such self-appointed rulers, that they have become timid, unwarlike, and non-progressive. To escape menial service and tribute they have acquired deceptive and lying traits of character, so that they are denounced as untrustworthy and as devoid of the characteristics which tend to develop a strong and prosperous people. At times, when driven into a corner and brutally imposed upon, they have resisted their persecutors with ferocity. They can and will fight when exposed to repeated indignities and to the violation of their homes; but many instances could be given to illustrate how they have been cut to pieces and robbed of everything by marauding bands of Moros, even while extending the hand of friendship and hospitality to their treacherous visitors. This was the penalty for having acquired some comforts and surplus products, over and above the barest necessities of maintaining life, thus exciting the cupidity of their persistent enemies. Continuing for several centuries, these methods have developed an inveterately hostile relation between the hill people and the shore people.

Following in the wake of the Moros, the Christians have ruthlessly applied to the hill people a raiding system that has kept the Subanu in ignorance and poverty, seriously retarding the development of the country. Naturally, under such blighting influences, the Subanu are cowed, suspicious, and superstitious. Having withstood every form of adversity and preserved their dialect, religion, customs, and industries, these people now deserve patient, strong, and continued support. Their bad habits must be borne with, their virtues commended, and the way of advancement made easy under protection and supervision. They are the natural farmers of the country they inhabit, and only their adaptability to the cultivation of the soil, with its inherent richness, has saved them from extermination by the rapacity of the Mohammedans and Christians. It is no mean record that they have made the soil support both the hill people and the shore people for about three centuries.

In contending against the difficulties of their settlement life the Subanu have gradually adopted an effective quarantine service against the spread of infectious diseases like smallpox, measles, and cholera. Upon the appearance of the first case among any of the settlement families the *timuai* orders the establishment of the signals of quarantine and these are quickly provided. Fences of poles and split bamboo or *bejuco* are erected across the main trails leading to the houses of the settlement. On these fences are placed, in fixed positions, carved imitations of war weapons, such as spears, *kampilans*, *barongs*, and *piras*, pointed outward to warn the approaching stranger or visitor to remain away. It is a

notice that death will be visited upon the person who attempts to enter the settlement while the scourge of disease prevails. The victims of the disease are segregated in isolated houses, supplied with food and water, and then abandoned by friends and relatives when recovery seems impossible. If death ensues, the bodies may be buried later by the relatives, and if any of the afflicted recover they are aided to rejoin their families. Near the signal fences are erected light wooden stands with offerings of various articles of food to appease the wrath of the gods and cause them to assist in extirpating the disease. Small sheds are also sometimes erected near the stands, under which guards may be stationed to prevent the food from being taken by wild animals, birds, and mischievous persons. But the guards go to sleep and the food (cooked rice, boiled eggs, fruit, tobacco, betel-nut, cooked chicken, etc.) disappears, whereupon the guards report that *diuata* (god) has accepted the gifts and will drive away the disease. Superstition and good sense are strangely but effectively mingled in this scheme of practical and efficacious quarantine, and the Subanu stand alone among all the tribes and peoples of Mindanao in devising and operating such protective measures.

The attempt in 1904–05 to induce Subanu to enlist in the Philippine Constabulary was abandoned as impracticable, after a trial of a few months, during which every man induced to enter had deserted. These people have no desire to become soldiers or policemen, or to seek employment far from their homes. A hard and bitter life has taught them to place no confidence in the stranger and very little in any form of government but their own.

RELIGION.

The Subanu are nature worshipers and believe that the spirits of their gods dwell in some of the most striking natural features of the land; for example, in an unusually large tree, in a huge rock balanced on a small base, in a peculiarly shaped mound of earth, in an isolated cave, in a mountain top difficult of ascent, and the like. The gods or spirits are called *diuata*. The Subanu or his *balian* realizes that no man or woman on the earth can build these trees, the great rocks and the mountains, and believes they must therefore be the handiwork of the gods and the abode of their spirits. In the presence of these evidences of the great power of the gods, the Subanu finds his opportunity for communion with the *diuata*. At these places he prays to the spirits for good crops, freedom from disease, a safe journey, the recovery of a member of his family from disease or injury, for rain to break a protracted period of drought, and the like. He likewise argues that no person could make the sea and that therefore the spirit of one of the *diuata* must reside therein, and to that spirit he prays for a safe journey upon it.

The spirits or *diuata* are believed to possess the power of producing conception without human agency, and the progeny of such unions

become the most efficient *balian;* they may visit the sky to attend the great assemblies (*bichara*) of the *diuata*, and upon earth they have power to raise the dead.

Observances of a religious character, either informal or with the assistance of the *balian*, are frequent in all the affairs of life, the clearing of a new plantation, the building of a house, the hunting of the wild hog, the search for wild honey, the snaring of feathered game, the beginning of a journey by sea or by land, the harvesting of the crops. Such ceremonies are accompanied by offerings proportionate to the wealth of the worshiper. In general, all spirits (even such as are popularly considered benevolent) must be propitiated by food-offerings. These sacrifices comprise betel-nuts, tobacco and cigarettes and cigars, boiled eggs, cooked rice, young fowl, the meat of a young pig, and the burning of incense in the form of the resin of the *nibung* tree.

Festivals (*buklug*) are held to propitiate the *diuata* or to celebrate some event in which an entire settlement is interested. The principal features of a *buklug* are religious ceremonies, feasting, drinking, dancing, and singing. The religious ceremonies are performed exclusively by the medicine men and the medicine woman, called *balian* or *belian*. The men rise to greater prominence and power in this profession than the women. Occasionally some strong-minded woman attains great power in a settlement. At a *buklug* the *balian* conduct their ceremonies independently of the other people, who never interfere with these professional duties and go about their feasting, drinking, and dancing as if their very lives depended upon getting the most out of all these enjoyments. The *balian* are entitled to receive fees for their services at *buklugs* and are usually paid in cotton cloth, tobacco, rice, or *palay*.

The functions of a *balian* may be classified as those of a medium, direct intercourse with spirits, the conduct of sacrifices, and the healing of the sick.

Prayers to the spirits or *diuata* are offered in the posture most convenient to the occasion, standing, sitting, or kneeling. The prayers may be chanted in a monotone, delivered by a silent motion of the lips or indicated by the bowed head.

Adjoining the house of a *balian* is sometimes placed a small structure resembling a dove-cote, erected on a pole or stand, in which the spirits with which the *balian* is accustomed to commune are believed to reside temporarily during such communion. In these spirit houses are placed articles of food for the refreshment of the spirits. Sometimes spirits are represented by rough wooden images and they may have attached to them, by wooden pegs or strands of split *bejuco*, representations in carved wood of various weapons, such as *barong* and *kampilan*. It is supposed that the spirits may require weapons for self-protection.

Wooden altars (small, rough tables or stands) are erected at various places, on the banks of streams and occasionally on the sea beach,

where communion is held with the spirits or *diuata* and where they may receive food.

Every large collection of Subanu usually contains representatives of their *balian* or priestly fraternity. These wizards, both men and women, have mysterious association with the spirits or *diuata* and are believed to possess the power of discerning the cause of all forms of illness and of applying the proper remedies to effect satisfactory cures. If restoration to health is not effected through the intervention of a medicine man or a medicine woman, then the sins of the patient have been too great for the spirits or *diuata* to forgive, and the offerings made by the family and friends of the sufferer have proved too unimportant to merit more powerful intervention by the *balian* with the *diuata*.

Failure to satisfy the demands of the gods as interpreted by the *balian* may lead to extreme measures on the part of the relatives and friends of the patient, especially if the illness can be connected with some affair of general importance to the Subanu people or to any settlement. Under such conditions greater offerings must be made if possible and resort may be had to human sacrifices. That such sacrifices have been made in times past is acknowledged by trustworthy Subanu, although these people are averse to talking about their religious practices. To their minds the subject is fraught with many portentous consequences. By unguarded words they might incur the enmity of some of the gods and then untold injury would come upon them personally or upon some of their relatives and friends.

Human sacrifice has been resorted to by the Bagobos (hill people) of eastern Mindanao and probably by other hill tribes in that great island. The last recorded case was reported on January 3, 1908, by the district governor of Davao (southern Mindanao), who states that the sacrifice was made by Bagobos at the rancheria of Talon near Digos on December 9, 1907. The following is extracted from the report:

> The headman Datu Ansig said that a sacrifice had been held and that both he and his people were ready to tell all about it, as to the best of their belief they had committed no crime, but only followed out a religious custom practiced by themselves and their ancestors from time immemorial. The Datu and his followers say that the Bagobos have several gods: Bacalad, god of the spirits; Agpanmole Manobo, god of good, and his wife, the goddess Dewata; Mandarangan, the god of evil, to whom sacrifice is made in order to appease his wrath, which is shown by misfortune, years of drought, or of evil befalling the tribe or its members. Also, it is at times necessary to offer him human sacrifice so that he will allow the spirits of the deceased to rest. In case a Bagobo of rank or great influence dies and his widow is unable to secure another husband, it becomes necessary for her to offer sacrifice to appease the spirit of her departed husband in order that she may obtain another.
>
> To provide that these sacrifices be not made too frequently, it is customary for the old men of the town to gather once each year, during the time when a collection of seven stars, three at right angles to the other four, are seen in the heavens to the east at seven o'clock in the evening, which is said to occur once each year, during the first part of December. This collection of

stars is called by the Bagabos "Balatic" and is the sign of the sacrifice; that is, if a sacrifice is to occur it must take place during the period when the stars are in this position.

The old men meet and decide if enough misfortune has overtaken the tribe or village during the period since the last sacrifice to render necessary another tribute to the god of evil. It is not necessary to offer a sacrifice for each evil, but when the misfortunes amount to considerable a sacrifice is held to cover the entire lot.

In this case it appears that two widows, Addy and Obby, went to Datu Ansig and requested that he arrange a sacrifice to appease the spirits of their departed husbands, which were bothering them. Ansig called a meeting of the old men at which were present, besides himself, Bagobos Oling, Pandaya, and Ansing, and these four decided that, as they had not had a sacrifice since the great drought (about three years ago), and that since that time many evils had befallen them, it would be well to offer a sacrifice. These four men sent out to find a slave for sacrifice, the finder becoming the chief of the sacrifice.

Ongon, a henchman of Datu Ansig, purchased from Bagobo Ido a Bilan slave boy, named Sacum, about eight years old, and who was deaf and cross-eyed and had other defects of vision, making him of little or no value as a laborer. Ido originally received this slave from Duon, a Bilan, as a wedding present when he married Duon's daughter about a year ago.

Ongon agreed to pay Ido five gongs for the boy and took him to the house of Ansig, where arrangements were made for the sacrifice by calling on all who for any reason had need to appease the evil spirits to come and take part. Three days after the slave was brought to the house of Ansig the people met at Talon near the river Inóli, a short distance from Ansig's house, this being the regular place of sacrifice.

Leaving the house of Ansig, the boy, Sacum, was seated upon the ground near the place of sacrifice. He was naked, but no other preparation was made with regard to his person. Upon a platform or bench of bamboo about two feet high and a foot or two square was placed a small basket or receptacle made of the bark of the bonga tree; in this each person present and taking part in the sacrifice placed a piece of betel-nut; over this the men placed their head kerchiefs, and over them the women laid strips of the bark of the palma tree. Upon this the men laid their bolos, and spears were then stuck in the ground in a circle around the platform. Next Datu Ansig, as chief of the sacrifice, made an oration, which was about as follows:

"Oh! Mandarangan, chief of evil spirits and all the other spirits, come to our feast and accept our sacrifice. Let this sacrifice appease your wrath and take from us our misfortunes, granting us better times."

After this the boy, Sacum, was brought forward by Ongon, placed against a small tree about six feet high, his hands tied above his head and his body tied to the tree with *bejuco* strips at the waist and knees. Ansig then placed a spear at the child's right side at a point below the right arm and above the margin of the ribs. The lance was grasped by the widows, Addy and Obby, who at a signal from Ansig forced it through the child's body, it coming out at the other side. It was immediately withdrawn and the body cut in two at the waist by bolos in the hands of Modesto Barrero and Ola, after which the body was cut down and chopped into bits by the people present, each of whom was allowed to take a small portion as a memento of the occasion, the remainder of the body being buried in a hole prepared for it.

Datu Ansig, a man about sixty years of age, says that in his life he has attended or officiated at fifty human sacrifices, more or less, both among the Bagobos and the Bilanes; and that human sacrifice is also a practice among

the Tagacolos, although he has never been present at one held by that tribe. The Bagobos sacrifice none but old and decrepit or useless slaves captured from other tribes, but the Bilanes sacrifice even their own people. Being asked if it was customary to eat any portion of the body sacrificed, Ansig said it was not customary, nor did he know of any case where such had occurred.

The last sacrifice before this was held at Talon during the year of the drought (about 1905), when a Bilan slave, an old man who was paralyzed in one arm, was sacrificed by Datu Oling, his master.

Asked if the sacrifice of an animal would not do as well as that of a human being, they said no, better to have no sacrifice at all.

They appeared utterly unconscious of having committed any crime, told their story with frankness, said it was a matter not talked about among their own people; but that if we wanted to know the facts they would give them to the authorities. They claimed the offering of human sacrifices by their tribe to be an old custom, and as far as they knew the only way to appease the wrath of the evil spirits, but said if ordered to give the custom up they would do so, even if the Devil got them all.

Near the rancheria of Ley (Lai), in Sibugai Bay, the Subanu of that region possess a tradition concerning a great chief who frequently sought relief from physical exhaustion by the sacrifice of one of his slaves, whose blood and heart he consumed while these parts were still warm. A mound on a steep bluff overlooking the river at Ley is claimed to be the sepulcher of the famous and greatly feared Subanu chief.

In the Philippine Journal of Science for 1908 the subject of human sacrifices in the Philippines is presented with a list of cases reported by the Spanish missionaries.

The Subanu are very reticent about divulging any detailed information as to the occurrence of human sacrifices among their people. In the absence of a decided negative to a direct inquiry, it may be safely asserted that such practice was rather common among them before the American occupation, especially in the secluded mountain areas of the upper Dapitan and Malindang country.

During the great *buklug* or religious festivals of the Subanu excitement runs high, and sometimes it is hard for the more conservative headmen to keep the younger element under control. Unscrupulous and vicious Moros and Filipinos take advantage of the extreme agitation attending these festivals, impose upon the credulous *balian*, debauch them with visions of exercising extraordinary power over their fellows, stir up unusual religious fervor through alleged spirit manifestations from the *diuata*, and appeal to the passions of the lowest members of the tribe for sordid gain. Under such circumstances the ignorant and credulous hill people are willing to desert their homes, abandon their crops and personal property, and give themselves over to the depraved control of their self-constituted leaders.

The Jesuits first arrived in the Philippines in June, 1595, with Governor Don Antonio de Morga, and in the following year two of these missionaries entered the island of Mindanao with the ill-fated expedition under the command of Captain Rodriguez de Figueroa. After his

death in 1596 at the hands of Moros, near the mouth of the Rio Grande River, in the Coto Bato Valley, the expedition, under its new commander, General Juan Ronquillo, retired to Caldora Bay, 10 miles west of Zamboanga, and constructed a presidio, which was garrisoned by 100 Spanish soldiers. Here the Jesuit missionaries, including Father Juan del Campo, assisted by Brother Gaspar Gomez, began work among the Subanu and the Lutaos (Samales).

In 1631 St. Francis Xavier began work among the Subanu near Dapitan. He was preceded in 1626 by Fathers Juan Lopez, Fabricio Sarsali, and Francisco de Otazo. In the year 1629 the missionary work in the Subanu country was placed in charge of the Bishop of Cebu, Fray Don Pedro de Arze. Missions were established by Father Pedro Gutierrez in 1631 and 1632 along the west coast of the peninsula, from Dapitan to Zamboanga. The permanent mission of Dapitan was established in 1631 and Father Gutierrez was made the rector.

The first Catholic priest to minister to the spiritual needs of the Subanu near Dapitan was Father Pasqual de Acuna in 1607. It is stated that he preached among these people with great success and baptized 200 of them. Missions were established by Fathers Lopez, Campo, and Gutierrez at Dipolog, Duhinog, Dicayo, Disakang, Sindangan, Mucas, Telinga, Quipit, Siocong, Sibuku, La Caldera, Malandi, Baldasan, and Bocot, all situated on the coast. Later, Fathers Francisco Combes, Francisco Paliola, Pedro Tellez, and Adolfo de Pedrosa labored among the Subanu. Father Paliola was killed by the islanders in 1648 and Father Campo on January 7, 1650, at the Mission of Siocong (now written Siukun).

The early missionaries suffered many hardships in trying to convert the Subanu to Christianity. They applied themselves with great courage and fidelity to the difficult task and succeeded in liberating slaves, aiding the sick, diminishing barbarous practices, and bringing a few of the more tractable under the spiritual instruction of the church. Commendable effort was made to instruct the children in the art of reading and writing by using the publications of the church. Solemn services were held for the dead, and the natives were taught to march in funeral processions and to carry with them candles, rice, and other offerings, as suffrages by the faithful for the peace and safety of the souls of the departed.

From 1596 to 1912 these missionary labors, both Catholic and Protestant, have penetrated from the coast but a few miles inland. The vast interior of the Subanu country has remained untouched by missionary effort. The writer in 1904 and 1905 traveled about 2,000 miles on foot through this country and found at Sianib, about 10 miles inland on the Dipolog River, a partially constructed building of poles and grass, which the Subanu informed him had been built at the behest of the Catholic priests at Dipolog and Dapitan. These Subanu made

early inquiry of the writer as to the attitude of the new government (American) relative to religious matters, and whether or not they must forego their native worship and take up some new doctrine. They were informed that the government of the United States made no attempt to control a man's conscience and that therefore all people under the new management were at liberty to hold any religious belief they chose to follow; that any and all religious observances and doctrines were to be permitted where and in what manner their advocates desired, provided such action did not contravene the law of the land. This announcement was greeted with smiles, gesticulations of joy, and much excited conversation among the men and women. The meeting was held in the incompleted church building, and the Subanu were advised to finish the structure and that it could be used for religious and secular instruction. But on the occasion of the writer's next visit, some weeks later, it was found that the building had been destroyed by fire, whether accidental or not was never fully ascertained. At the present time Catholic mission work among the Subanu has practically ceased.

The American government has accomplished practically nothing in the way of extending the public school system to the Subanu. This has been due in part to lack of public funds and in part to the extreme isolation of the people. The Catholic missionaries at Dapitan and Dipolog, on the west coast of the Subanu country, still maintain parochial schools at the rancherias of Toocan, Matam, Barcelona, Langatian, Dohinob, Ilaya, and Polanco, and on the north coast at Sauang, Libay, and Baliangao. The missionaries on the east coast at Langaran, Oroquieta, and Misamis maintain parochial schools for the Christian Filipinos, but the Subanu children do not attend, largely because it is impracticable for them to make the long journey from the hills to the coast, and, finally, the question of association with a race of heathen regarded as inferior would introduce serious elements of discord. In those schools referred to as being established on the north and west coasts the attendance is restricted to children whose parents are members in good standing of the Catholic church.

All the towns mentioned are within 3 miles of the coast. The Subanu are hill people, usually residing much further inland and in any event debarred from the parochial schools because of religious disqualification, and prevented from entering the government free public schools because such schools are confined to the largest Christian towns and are out of reach and still more out of sympathy with Pagan surroundings and customs.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Where death results from ordinary causes the body is usually buried in a grove of trees which serves as a cemetery for several families. During epidemics of smallpox and cholera the bodies are frequently

left in the abandoned houses and may be consumed by the hordes of starveling dogs and cats that always infest Subanu settlements. The *balian*, man or woman, is called in to minister to the sick, and entire reliance is placed upon his judgment in the employment of herbs and prayers to drive away the evil spirits which are believed to produce the illness. Medicine and religion are so closely allied in daily life that the herbs used in medication are considered quite ineffective unless administered by the *balian*.

If the deceased is a male adult the women of his family engage in wild lamentations while others prepare the body for burial. The body may be encased in a wooden receptacle hollowed out from a tree, or wrapped up in mats securely bound about with strips of *bejuco* or bamboo. The graves are marked by carved pieces of wood and decorated by a varied arrangement of stones and shells. Bodies are sometimes placed for burial in natural caves where available, and in the hollow trunks of large trees. When corpses are interred the pits are always shallow, for they must be scooped out with knives and the hands. Therefore the graves are often dug open by wild hogs and dogs and the bodies devoured. To avoid such unearthing the dead from isolated families are buried near the house and sometimes under the house, especially in the case of children. In some cases shelters are erected over the graves and the spot is inclosed with a fence of split bamboo or of poles.

During epidemics the dead are sometimes cast into the rivers and the sea in order to destroy, if possible, the cause of the contagion. The Subanu do not practise cremation in disposing of the dead. They have a horror of thus disposing of a body and fear the condemnation which may follow from the spirits or *diuata*.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Subanu women usually marry upon arriving at the age of puberty (about 13 years), while young men are often restricted beyond the age of puberty by the necessity of providing for the dowry, which must be paid to the father of the bride before she can engage in the marriage ceremony.

The Subanu do not know their ages, as no record of the date of birth is ever kept and they are unable to read or write. They appreciate the succession of day and night and count a period of days by tying knots in a string of split *bejuco*, each knot representing a day of light and a day of darkness. In some instances a separate knot is made for each.

Marriage among the Subanu is brought about through the efforts of relatives of the young people, especially the parents. The fathers, as absolute heads of their families, control the disposition of the brides. They fix the marriage portion and determine the time of payment,

together with the character and value of the articles composing it. They may consist of rice, *palay*, cloth, Chinese jars, articles of brass, weapons, gongs, and domestic animals. Maidens bring a better price than widows or divorced women.

The father of the bride may condition his acceptance upon a period of personal service by the young man in the bride's family, the length of such service to be fixed by the father of the young woman, subject to modification through conferences between the two families.

A plurality of wives is permissible but not common, mostly for want of sufficient means for the marriage portion and to pay for the ceremony and the usual feast provided for relatives and friends. Other restrictions upon marriage arise from the observances of consanguinity and affinity. Kinship nearer than first cousins constitutes a bar and usually this degree of relationship is prohibitive.

Step-relationship is usually a bar to marriage, although marriages between step-daughters and own sons of the same family are sometimes permitted. A man may marry more than one daughter from the same family, and cases are known of his also marrying the mother of the daughters.

A more extraordinary feature of the Subanu marriage customs is exhibited where a man marries his mother-in-law who is divorced or widowed, even while the daughter is living as his wife. These exhibitions of variations from the normal customs of the people are controlled by personal or family considerations, present at the time, and are not generally followed or approved of.

Violation of the marriage laws is punishable by fines paid to the *timuai* or headman of each Subanu settlement, and these laws are quite rigidly enforced through public sentiment and good faith.

Neither a pregnant woman nor her husband will go down the house steps and turn back before reaching the ground. A pregnant woman must not remove a pot from the fire and then put it on again. Neither a pregnant woman nor her husband may tie anything about the neck before the birth of the child. Pregnant women are enjoined by the *balian* from covering their breasts during pregnancy. If during pregnancy the husband ties or binds up things in the house where his wife remains, such action may result in fastening the child to the mother and destroy its life. Some few days before the birth of the child the father must refrain from all excitement in order not to attract the attention of evil spirits. Any difficulty attending birth is ascribed to the intervention of evil spirits. A short time before the birth of the child the mother is placed in a little house by herself; this house is called *gosina* and is temporarily erected for the purpose. After childbirth the mother submits to a baking process by lying close to a hot fire, exposing alternately the stomach and the buttocks, until the womb is said to dry up and there is no more discharge. During the pains of

childbirth the midwife presses hard upon the chest and stomach of the mother, with her hands and sometimes her knees, to prevent the child escaping from the mouth of the mother. In the event of a very difficult childbirth a *balian* is called in to determine what particular spirit or *diuata* is angry or annoyed by the approaching birth and how such spirit may be appeased.

Christie records the note that in punishment of incest the culprit is set in a wicker cage with his hands tied and thrown into a stream. This note of an isolated fact is valuable but obscure. We comprehend it only through recognition of the same manner of punishment for marriage within the forbidden degrees practised by the Kayan of North Borneo, also a fluviatile people. The Kayan inflict this death penalty without spilling blood in order to avoid the necessity of paying the blood atonement. Our notes lack detail upon this point among the Subanu, but the occurrence in the vocabulary of *bangon* in the sense of blood money shows the custom to be operative here also.

As the father is the absolute ruler of his family, so he may put away his wife by divorce for good and sufficient cause, in accordance with the customary law.

The headman sits in judgment upon the application for divorce, which may be made by either party. Violations of the law and contumacy in respect of the decision of the headman are punished by fine.

Public sentiment is against divorce, especially if there are children. The usual causes for divorce are sterility, adultery, desertion, and incompatibility of temper. The dowry can not be recovered unless the woman secures the divorce.

Under the general designation *liingan* are grouped certain customs which are the rule of life for widows and widowers. After the death of husband or wife the surviving partner must wear plain clothing of white or black, must refrain from all dances and other festivities, avoid the transaction of all business, and generally keep as far as possible within the seclusion of the house. An unkempt appearance is the outward and visible sign of grief, at least of mourning, and to attain this lugubrious appearance the relict must take no baths and wash no clothes. The period of this mourning is set by the performance of the two funerary celebrations, the *buklug timala* and the *buklug puluntu*.

THE SUBANU

Studies of a Sub-Visayan Mountain Folk of Mindanao

Part II.

Discussion of the Linguistic Material

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CHAPTER I.

PITFALLS OF THE VOCABULIST.

The material upon which has been based this study of the Subanu speech was collected partly by Colonel Finley himself during the active and somewhat militant years of his term as governor of Zamboanga and partly at his order and under his direction by such assistants as he could spare from the exacting details of his administration. The extension of the American system to dominions oversea, the adjustment of American polity to the at present unassimilable and non-homogeneous peoples of a distinctly lower culture plane, the inopine and lightly assumed administration of an empire through the machinery of a loquacious democracy—all these things at the beginning of but their second decade are yet so new that our people who stay at home in ease have no slightest conception of the character and the mass of administrative details which are laid upon our new proconsulars.

It so happens that I know, because it has been given to me to pass through the experience. Designated to the administration of one of the weak kingdoms of the Pacific, *primus inter pares* in a board of three consulars, each of whom had the absolute right of veto, sworn to administer the Berlin General Act, which was fatally defective from the very beginning, I have known the trials of ruling the kingdom of Samoa. It has fallen to my lot to face the hostile front of war with no greater show of force than the American ensign hoisted aboard a 21-foot rowboat, where my British and German colleagues could back their authority with steel cruisers. I know through experience the hours and days of talk, the tangle of plot and counterplot, the reams of paper covered with reports never to be comprehended in Washington, time working into overtime just to keep the peace. I can sympathize with the effort which it has cost my collaborator, the sacrifice which it has meant to him of rest and relaxation, to compile this material which he has put into my hands for study. Better than others, I can count the cost of such work as this, done under trying military and civil conditions, work in a field which lies wholly outside his professional duty. Therefore I, at least, know that such material must be approached with sympathy as well as reverence. It is only after full and cordial conference with him upon the subject that I venture upon the criticism of the material.

I found my collaborator anxious that the data should be discussed solely upon their own showing and without consideration of the circumstances under which they had been collected. When I pointed out to him that other vocabulists had been confronted with the same unrecognized difficulties, I found him not only willing but enthusiastic that, in

connection with the critical discussion of his material, I should write a further note upon the general theme of the pitfalls which beset the first vocabulist when he essays the task of collecting the words of a speech hitherto unrecorded. So far as I have been able to discover, this is a chapter of practical psychology which has never been written.

As it must serve as an apology for some of Colonel Finley's work in the field, so must it serve quite as much for errors into which later students of this material, now for the first time presented, will discover that I have fallen, and with less excuse, since my work has been prosecuted with assistance of library facilities and in conditions which better make for effective research.

These data have been presented for my study in three parcels, each of which has entailed a somewhat different method of examination.

1. The text of Colonel Finley's geographical and ethnographical account of the Subanu, which forms Part I of this work. In this I have had to do no more than glean the vocables incidentally occurring in the narrative and to check them into their proper places in the vocabularies already compiled from the two parcels next to be mentioned.

2. A collection of Subanu words with their English translations, written with the pen and covering 27 foolscap folios. This record is of the first order, for it is an original record and presents the words just as they impressed Colonel Finley's ear when he collected them from his Subanu informants. In several particulars the spelling differs considerably from that which obtains in the third item and which I have, for reasons later to be noted, adopted as the preliminary standard. Where this manuscript duplicates an entry in the other record I have harmonized the spelling; in all other cases, because of the great value which the original record will have for phonetic study, I have refrained from altering the spelling. From this source the alphabet acquires the letter **k**, which sound in the other source is uniformly represented by **c** (**qu** before **e** and **i**). Similarly this collection of words employs **g** before **e** and **i** where the other collection, following the usage of written Visayan (in which the Spanish influence of the friars is manifest), employs **gu**. These points will be more fully discussed in the chapter on Subanu phonetics; they are mentioned here solely as characterizing this material.

This manuscript is not continuous; several periods of activity are indicated.

a. The first 148 entries are words and phrases collected at random, measures of capacity, names of gods and heroes, a wealth of ethnographic material which has been transferred to appropriate places in Part I, where it more properly belongs than in the vocabulary.

b. This section is based upon a number of English words arranged in alphabetical order with Subanu entries, amounting to 380 items; the strict alphabetization is interrupted after the word *egg* by the interpolation of 48 items of numeration. This is found to be a standardization

of Christie's vocabulary of the Sindangan river mouth with many additions.

c. Without mark of division begins a second English alphabetization of common vocables amounting to 206 items. This is based on Christie's vocabulary of Nueva Reus.

d. In the same abrupt fashion begins yet a third English alphabetization amounting to 88 items.

e. A brief supplement of 11 entries without order.

The sum of the items contained in this material is 881.

3. A collection of Subanu words typed on 28 folios closely spaced. Each folio has four columns, respectively Subanu, Visayan, Spanish, and English. This collection also exhibits two efforts.

a. The earlier 8 folios are words and phrases chosen at random, 301 word items, 47 phrases ranging in relative utility from "give me a drink" to the ultimate theology of "good and wicked people will be well distinguished on the day of judgment."

b. Beginning at the top of the ninth folio the material is alphabetized by the Spanish column of equivalents. This alphabetization goes only as far as the Spanish initial **m** and but briefly into that section, for the last entry is under *malgastar*. In each initial the collation has been done very lazily. For example, the entries under **a** cease at *acumular*, 65 entries in all. Turning next to **b**, the compiler has entered 43 items, under **c** 44, under **d** 46, under **e** 67, under **f** 39, under **g** 43, under **h** 44, under **i** 86, under **j** 22, under **l** 47, under **m** 24. The sum of this section is 570 entries and the sum of the whole collection is 918 items. Including the sum of the manuscript material with that which has been typed, we have 1,799 items, many of the items containing four or more Subanu vocables.

It is this third group of Subanu material which makes it pertinent to give here some detailed attention to the pitfalls which lie in wait for the unwary and the untrained vocabulist. These pitfalls are many and well hidden; it is not until a language has become well studied that its terrain becomes free of such dangers, and even then it is but a small group of the persons born to any speech who may be trusted to employ it without risk to themselves and to their hearers. Far worse, then, is the plight of the one who, without a safe guide, endeavors to thread the way of reason through an ill-comprehended speech.

Here we must take under consideration the problem of what translation really is. Is it sufficient to take this or any sentence, to seek in the French, the German, the Ural-Altaic dictionary, as you will, the recorded equivalent of each word in turn? Have we done all when we have associated these equivalent vocables in accordance with the syntax of the language into which we are supposably translating?

Who eats cherries? It will make a large Teutonic difference whether one translates *wer isst* or *wer frisst.*

Thus we see that there is something more than mere extraction from a dictionary and the application of rules of grammar. The essence of translation is the portage from one mind to another of a certain definite idea; the form of words is but the least of the agency to be employed. The schoolboy construes *Cæsar venit in Galliam summa diligentia* beautifully, as coming to France on top of a diligence, and is sure that he has rendered unto Cæsar as by law required. So long as mere words outrank sense we may all do much the same thing; if only the words be sufficiently sonorous we call it oratory.

With pains, with the skill which comes from use, we may succeed in expressing our thoughts in alien speech with certainty, provided we have the same sort of thought as that which our hearer possesses. It is the portage of the thought which alone can be called translation. But suppose the hearer has no such thought as ours; suppose his mind is wholly incapable of such thought. Suppose he be one of our own rude folk or one of a folk all rude. In that case what does translation become?

On the path toward the lower culture planes with which we shall be engaged in these studies I may cite an instance in which defective translation led to war with its train of death. After years of distress in Samoa, three great nations undertook to bring the blessings of peace, and the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, of the United States, and of Germany met in Berlin. After long deliberation, indeed after many really generous sacrifices of national ambitions which each nation contributed in the hope of peace, there was formulated a constituent treaty known as the Berlin General Act. In this document it was provided that Malietoa Laupepa should be king of Samoa. The plenipotentiaries understood the word, king, *k¨nig;* there could be no manner of doubt, even the American member had some recollection of George III, quite sufficient to fix and define the idea to his comprehension. Then came the translation whereby this great document should be made effective for the waiting Samoans. In this one point the plenipotentiaries had not compared their faculties; they had not thought to examine whether they had the faculty of translation. To put the accepted text into Samoan words was not difficult; the English masters of the island tongue declared that English king is Samoan *tupu;* the Germans who had equal facility with that tongue agreed that German *könig* is Samoan *tupu.*

Thus, then, it came into Samoan; peace was to rule at the behest of the great powers of the earth and Malietoa Laupepa was to be Samoa's *tupu.* The word had been translated, the thought had failed of portage. The brown islander under his palms had no memory of Georgius Tertius to help him to comprehension. At times I was almost moved to salute that quiet and lovable man Laupepa in the phrase "O king, live forever," for I knew the trouble which had been provided for the succession. But his own *tupu* trouble came to harass his days while yet he sat upon the throne. For the Samoan *tupu* is he who rules over all

Samoa; first must come the right to rule, then follows the title. The right inheres in the possession of four names of might conferred after a rather complicated system based on traditional custom which in another connection I shall have to present at length. Here it suffices briefly to say that one petty village community has the right to confer—and to withdraw—the name of Tui-Atua and with it the right to rule the district of Atua and its family dependencies; another has the right to confer the name of Tui-'A'ana, yet others the names of Tamasoali'i and Natoaitele respectively. In each case the right to withdraw accompanies the right to confer. Who holds all four names is the ruler of all Samoa, its *tupu*, for the period of possession of the four names as much a king as the Samoans can imagine, but always subject to inopportune subtraction. And because the high plenipotentiaries translated their *king* and *könig* with all the connotation of right divine and constitutional checks into this temporary and amorphous *tupu* of the South Sea, Samoa knew no peace; first one and then another of the royal names was retracted and war followed.

We may find the same sort of thing much nearer home. Popularly it is supposed that we speak the same language in America and in parts of Great Britain; when hands are across the sea we try to glow with after-dinner satisfaction that our mother tongue is our common heritage. But when it comes to the usufruct we are not without evidence that need exists for true translation. From John S. Farmer's *Americanisms, Old and New* I extract this instance:

Jag. A slang term for an umbrella, possibly from the article being so constantly carried.

He came in very late (after an unsuccessful effort to unlock the front door with his umbrella) through an unfastened coal hole in the sidewalk. Coming to himself toward daylight, he found himself—spring overcoat, silk hat, jag and all—stretched out in the bath tub.—*Albany Journal*, 1888.

Yet another and later recorder, J. Redding Ware, in *Passing English of the Victorian Era*, clearly stands without the interpreter's house:

Yaller dog (American). Yellow is the tint of most dogs in America; hence it is the most searching term of ordinary contempt.

If there can be such pitfalls in a speech supposedly common, think what must be awaiting the men who make the first record of newly discovered tongues. One such error has become classic in all the languages of civilization; its error has almost faded from memory; our most recent authorities now essay to believe that it was no error at all.

When Captain Cook discovered the coast of Australia at the spot where now stands a thriving city bearing his name, his naturalist, later to become the great Sir Joseph Banks of the Royal Society, was at once attracted by the great marsupials hopping over the landscape. The conditions were ideal for error. Just that day discovered, the aborigines knew no English, Banks had not a word of the Australian speech,

the means of intercommunication were wholly blocked. Yet still the marsupials hopped like giant grasshoppers, a sight to attract any naturalist with the prospect of annexing to the name of the animal *nov. gen. et nov. sp.* But first to know the name. One may readily imagine the naturalist inquiring in some manner of broken English, for Beach-la-Mar was not for a generation to be invented, "and now, my dear man, what may be the name of that most extraordinary animal?" To which the answer *Ka anguru.* And by others confirmed on repeated questioning, *Ka anguru.* Thence comes into our languages kangaroo. It is only long afterward, when men have settled the Australian wild and some knowledge of the speech is acquired, that it is learned that the answer was no name at all, but simply "I do not understand."

Very similar to the instance of the kangaroo is an item in the Subanu material which I have been elaborating. In one of the manuscripts which have come to me (3–*b*) is the entry:

bicho a small grub or insect *mananap nong mica daay ngalan.*

It is only when the language is worked out that we find even this scanty vocabulary quite sufficient to show us that the Subanu words mean only "animal without a name."

Elsewhere in my studies upon the primitive languages of the Pacific (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, page 365, and with greater fulness in *Easter Island*, page 166), I have remarked upon another pitfall of the vocabulary. This was the case of the acquisition of the numerals by means of the finger count. It was shown that (by reason of the fact that we are in the habit of counting the fingers which we stick up to view and that several savage races count the fingers which are flexed upon the palm) it has more than once happened that early collectors of speech have inverted the order of the first four numerals and have registered the further note that the savages under their examination were found unable to count as high as five.

Here, too, belongs the story of the Island of Yesindeed. Three names of European shipmen are associated with the discovery of Samoa. The first was Roggeveen, who happened upon the group in 1722 and conferred upon 'Upolu a name out of the United Netherlands. Second came Bougainville in 1768 and designated the archipelago the Iles des Navigateurs. In 1787, La Pérouse entered the group from the eastward and found no difficulty in obtaining the name of Manu'a. When he reached Tutuila he was misled by the name Maunga, which is titular for the chief of Pagopago, or else by the same word used as a common noun to designate a mountain, for he charted the island as Maouna. Stretching westward across the strait which now parts German from American Samoa, he named 'Upolu Oyolava, a name which has not entirely disappeared from the charts and which commonly persists on the larger globes, cartographic material less frequently subject to revision. We

can readily reconstruct in imagination the question which La Pérouse put to his Samoan informant from whom he derived what he took to be the name of the island. Less readily can we reconstruct what the polite and always suave Samoan thought that the Frenchman was asking him, but it is quite clear that even though he did not understand the French the Samoan was filled with sufficient bonhomie to reply *ioe lava*. Down it went into the navigator's notebook as the name of the land. We who understand the Samoan smile at the incident, for *ioe lava* means "yes, indeed."

Such considerations as these, and I have but skimmed the surface of a most interesting chapter of practical philology, should make it quite clear that it is the part of wisdom to approach the original record of a newly discovered speech with fear and trembling. Into my hands have been placed the field notes of discovery; their immense value must be recognized, but in their original state they are immense in the sense in which the Romans used the term, great but lacking order. With an eye for the pitfalls I have sought to clear the path whereupon others may safely tread. Many errors have I rectified; that many more still remain is undoubted.

It is sufficient satisfaction for the present to feel that the beginning has been made, that a convenient handbook may be offered to those whose duty may engage them in this field. Thus will the errors be corrected and additions will surely accrue for the improvement of our knowledge. Best of all, this small vocabulary will serve the end of social betterment and help to a poor folk who from their own kind have met with nothing but rapine and toward whom we have assumed a duty of protection for the present until they may be raised to the point where they may accept the good we offer them.

It has proved of interest to work out the perturbation factors which affect the Subanu source designated as 3 in the foregoing account. From my collaborator I learn that the work was done by two collectors. The former list (3–*a*) was collected through a partially tamed Subanu who had a knowledge of Visayan, a bilingual assistant. With this information it is possible to follow out his method. Against such Subanu words as he saw fit to record he set the Visayan equivalent. In further development by another hand it was possible from the Visayan vocable to pass to the Spanish and thence eventually to the English.

The collector of the larger part of this material is described by Colonel Finley as a rather bright Visayan who was employed as a *muchacho* by one of the Spanish mission priests. He was trilingual; in addition to his proper Visayan he comprehended the Subanu in one direction and to a certain extent the Spanish in the other. Here enters yet another factor, one which has been of great assistance to me in making determinations whereby I might correct the errors of the original text. This is the Visayan dictionary of Fray Juan Félix, a really com-

mendable piece of lexicography to have been accomplished by one quite ignorant of the science of language. The edition which has been placed at my service by the Librarian of Congress is entitled: "Diccionario Bisaya-Español (Español-Bisaya) compuesto por el R. P. Fr. Juan Félix de la Encarnacion . . . tercera edicion aumentada con mas de tres mil voces por el R. P. Fr. José Sanchez; Manila, 1885." The Visayan vocabulary contains some 12,000 items.

In my earlier characterization of this section of the material, I pointed out that the collector had based his work upon a Spanish word-list which he had followed somewhat irregularly. Upon my first inspection of the Visayan dictionary I discovered that the *muchacho* had saved himself much trouble by following the Spanish-Visayan of Fray Juan Félix. This suspicion was fully confirmed when I made the discovery that his following had been so uninspired that he had followed even the typographical errors. The only difference noted is that he seems to have used a dialectic form of the Visayan slightly variant (particularly in the use of the vowels **a** and **u**) from the standard of the dictionary. This is matter of less moment when we find that the reverend lexicographer is not consistent with himself, that many words in the Spanish-Visayan vary, not only in vowels but in consonants as well, from the forms recorded in Visayan-Spanish.

The original entries seem to have been written by hand with pen or pencil, for there appears a constant perturbation factor of imperfectly legible chirography. This has produced a most irregular treatment of the composition members; at times they are united with the stems to which they apply, at other times they stand apart, in the end it is by no means certain that this type of error has been wholly corrected. In like manner such independent members of the sentence as conjunctions are found joined with more important vocables; where the equivalent in Visayan has not been discovered it has proved impossible to assort these to their proper places. With considerable experience of the haste and the bad pen of unready writers, I find that I have visualized a chirography for this stage of the notes and have had to exercise my wits in detecting error attributable to bad writing. As a single instance from many I cite the entry "*patoel*, brother." When the Visayan gives us *patod* we may readily see that we are not dealing with an anomalous mutation, but that a loosely penned **d** has been misread **el** by the transcriber.

The material reached its second stage when the written notes were transcribed upon the typewriter by some clerical assistant. We assume that he was quite ignorant of Subanu, scantily acquainted with the Visayan, and imperfectly acquainted with Spanish, as is the wont of the enlisted man on foreign service. At this stage was added the fourth column of text; against the triple entry of Subanu-Visayan-Spanish is now set the English equivalent. Here again I have had the fortune to

identify the manual in use, Appleton's Spanish dictionary of 1872, Seoane's Neuman and Barretti by Velazquez. In adjusting this material to the growing vocabulary the clerk has followed consistently an easily identifiable method. In all cases where Seoane renders a Spanish word by two English words the clerk has used the former. The result is odd, but easily corrigible when we hold his manual. Of this class of error I cite the definition of *gocsip* through Spanish *falca* by the former of Seoane's renderings "washboard;" of course the washboard is yet a distant culture plane above the laundry requirements of these savages, and apart from this *a priori* reasoning the Visayan homologue *sipsip* enables us to discover, with the assistance of Fray Juan Félix, that the object is really a wedge.

In this stage of the text appears yet another perturbation factor, the errors of the typewriter. Here a revising hand has made with the pen such corrections as seemed necessary. I instance the definition of *meaon* through Visayan *mayahon* and Spanish *enano* "dwarfish" by the typed word *Awarfish;* here the corrector, recognizing that there was no such word, has drawn his pen to part the initial *A* from *warfish* and has added the explicative note "fighting fish." It was no more than a slip of the finger, the A key was hit when reaching for D.

I have corrected all such errors as the use of the method of comparative study has shown me. I can not feel sure that I have cleared the text of all error, that would be too much to expect; but I have performed the task of emendation with the utmost sympathy, for I have had abundant experience of the difficulty which attends the student of a new-found speech.

CHAPTER II.

SUBANU PHONETICS AND COMPOSITION MEMBERS.

The alphabetical system employed in this work is neither consistent nor particularly to be commended. Its variety has indeed arisen in the variety of the sources from which the vocabulary has been derived and is conditioned by the various influences which have affected the collectors. It would be far preferable to present the results in some more acceptable alphabet; in view of the fact that print has either not at all as yet, or only very slightly, reached these Pagan tribes of Mindanao, it would have been well to employ the scientific alphabet. But in these studies, conducted at a distance, it has been found impracticable to make any change in the field notes as provided.

We are grateful to Cadmus for the gift of letters, but gratitude toward a figure dimly seen in the dawn of culture can not blot out the sense of the unfitness of these things which must come over us in the attempt to represent new languages by the alphabetic system of our own. Letters are indeed a great gift; without them it is hard to conceive of civilization making headway. Cadmus wedded Harmony, but the inheritance comes not from the distaff side, rather the seed of the dragon's teeth with strife—and spelling. Scant wonder is it that the marks, whatever they may have been, which Bellerophon bore were described as *σήματα λυγρά*.

Indeed it is a dismal task to seek to apply the six and twenty signs of our alphabet to the needs of a foreign speech, to employ but two dozen (bakers' tale) symbols in representing to the eye a series of sounds which fall but little short of four score. In this work upon which we are entering we shall have to recognize that we can have no more than an approximation. Recorded in the Roman alphabet with no suggestion of diacritical marks the words in this vocabulary must be regarded as but sketches, not working plans drawn to scale; the whole topic of pronunciation, directions whereby this material might be placed to speech use, must necessarily be omitted.

The influences affecting the collectors of this Subanu material vary in terms of European speech. All that part of the field notes which is in Colonel Finley's manuscript is naturally reduced to conformity with the usage of the English alphabet, and doubtfully placed sounds are reproduced by the proximate English sound most familiar upon an American ear. It is thus that we owe to this influence the employment of **k** in some few vocables where the other collectors employ **c**, and **qu** before **e** and **i**.

That somewhat larger part of the vocabulary which rests upon the efforts, such as they are, of the Subanu informant and the Visayan *muchacho* has been brought into conformity with written Visayan. That speech was reduced to writing by Spanish missionaries; therefore in the dictionary of Fray Juan Félix we find the custom of the Spanish alphabet.

It is unfortunate that we miss the opportunity to correct the variety and to present this newly recorded speech in better guise. Yet it is really less to be regretted, for in the ordering of this wild community it is likely that for a long time to come intercourse with the shy mountaineers will most commonly be conducted through Hispanized Visayan intermediaries.

The following notes upon the phonetics of the Subanu are supplied by my collaborator and are presented without change, for their importance is that they are a record at first hand:

The vowels have generally the Continental value.
The doublet **oo** corresponds to Visayan **u**.
The value of **y** is always consonantal.
The **c** is always hard.
The **g** is always hard.
a has the broad sound as in *mar*.
The frequent termination **aan** is a dissyllable.
aay is a syllable and diphthong.
gu is used before **e** and **i** to preserve the hard sound of **g** as in Spanish.
o is sounded as in *move*.
gua as in *guano*.
au as *ou* in *house*.
ao as *ow* in *how*.
ay has the diphthongal sound of *i* in *pine*.
qu before **e** and **i** has the value of **k** as in Spanish.
ng has the sound of *ng* in *singer*.
ñg has the doublet (*ngg*) sound of *ng* in *finger*.
ua has the value of *wa* in *water*.
h as in English.
The vowels **e** and **i** are difficult to distinguish in Subanu pronunciation. Sometimes the same difficulty is experienced with the vowels **o** and **u**. These four vowels are not always used in the same manner by the same speaker at different times.
gh and **kh** are harsh guttural sounds sometimes heard in Subanu speech; the sounds are not found in English.

With these notes from the field to guide us and with the assistance of the vocabulary it is practicable to construct the alphabetic scheme of Subanu as shown upon the following table:

a
e **o**
i **u**

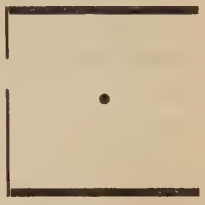
	palatal series	lingual series	labial series.	
	y	**r, l**	**w**	semivowels
	ng	**n**	**m**	nasals
	h			aspiration
sonant	—	—		sibilant
surd	—	**s**		
sonant	**gh**	—	—	spirant
surd	**kh**	—	—	
sonant	**g**	**d**	**b**	mute
surd	**k**	**t**	**p**	

I find that this is the 107th time I have published the alphabetic diagram for languages of my study. Out of this frequency of use has grown familiarity and fulness of comprehension. I regard the diagram as far more than a convenience in the presentation of the alphabetic scheme of any speech; to me it is a language picture by which it is

possible to trace the family resemblance of a language and from the resemblance to recognize its affiliation. We shall now advance to the interpretation of this picture of the Subanu.

The vowel uncertainty will recur in the last chapter, where we shall have occasion to discuss its critical value in the solution of the major problem which we develop in these studies.

The outline of the consonant supply upon this diagram surely has a deep linguistic signification—one, we feel confident, not beyond our powers of interpreting. A lineal presentation of the consonant element of the foregoing tabulation would consist of a square lacking its east side. The upper and the lower bounding lines would be indicated by heavier lines as showing that along those lines there is a double supply of material; the west boundary would be lighter, yet distinct and almost complete. Within the area of the square would be set a dot to represent that a single effort has been made to fill up the vacancy. Before we dismiss the Subanu we shall find that the simplicity of such a graphic method as this will facilitate the comparison with other languages and speech families which exhibit diagrams of different construction.



These forms are not without meaning in the history of speech development; they call for study along that line of examination.

It will be granted that the use of the vowel possibility is a common possession of the higher orders of animal life; for convenience we may regard it as colimital with vertebrate life. By vowel possibility we designate such arrangement of an air-sack and resonating chamber as will admit of the formation of sounds which may be noise when produced without sentient direction and which may become musical tones when formed by more or less purposeful attention to the method of production. The vowels, open-throated sounds, are the product of vibration within an unstopped column of air. They vary according as one position or another within the air-column is selected as the point of production; they vary in quality according as these soft-walled resonating columns differ in texture. But the vowel possibility man has because he has the acoustic equipment of the air-breathing vertebrate. That he has it in higher degree and under more perfect control of modulation we may ascribe to epochal development of the possibility through exercise in purposeful employment, the epochs being marked along the biologic side, of which the possibilities may readily be seen to be limitless, by evolution into new species and genera.

Whereas the vowel is of the type of vibration in an open air-pipe, the consonant is dependent wholly upon the employment of stops and closures in the pipe which contains the vibrant column of air, and in certain of its features it depends upon the added fact that the vibrant air is likewise in motion of progression outward and therefore exerts a

certain pressure upon the point of stoppage. Consonant possibility is a late acquisition in the course of vertebrate history. We are in a position to say positively that it is limited to the primates. An effort is making to establish the possession of at least the beginning of consonant possibility in certain of the apes. Just in passing, entering the note of recognition that this question is yet *sub judice*, we may properly say that the power to make the closures of the vocal organism whence consonants come into speech is the peculiar possession of the present type of man. The qualification is forced upon us by the recent discovery of human remains in England, to which has been given the name *Eoanthropos*, for if we may rely upon the collation of skull fragments upon which the genus has been erected we find abundant anatomical reason to believe that this was man who was speechless.

It is an early postulate that speech makes the man. He who has the form and stature of a man but speaks not, he is an idiot and he gibbers. He who is but the beginning of a man and can not yet speak, he is an infant, *infans* because he can not speak, *νήπιος* since he has no words, the *νήπια τέκνα* of Homer come to mind. It is only in the Semitic system that out of the mouths of babes and sucklings is strength established, and that is the imagery of revelation rather than the keen sense of primal observation.

This is not merely a postulate of the classical tongues of our own high race. I find it in the use of an African folk with scarcely more than an entering foot over the threshold of human culture, as we may read in Ellenberger's *History of the Basuto, ancient and modern*" at page xxi.

> Bantu is the plural of Muntu, the Kaffir and Zulu word for a human being. The equivalent in Sesuto is *motho* with the letter *h* to accentuate the intonation. But the word *muntu* or *motho* means more than that: it indicates the power of speech as well, a speaking being as distinct from monkeys or baboons, who have something like a human shape but can not speak. A child before it has learned to speak is *ngoana*, that is, a little being; *mo*, the prefix denoting being, being changed into *ngo* for the sake of euphony; and the diminutive suffix *ana*. But as soon as the child has learned to speak, the *tho*, denoting speech, is placed between prefix and suffix, and the little being becomes *mothoana*, a little being which can talk.

Here we have two instances: one is derived from the childish estate of a culture which has come to high maturity, the other is drawn from a low culture plane where man is all child; the two are in accord. Who speaks, he is man.

Nor is the possession of the consonants evenly divided among mankind. There are races which have but a few of the speech consonants in possession. There are races, and in this category we are numbered, which have through disuse lost the power of forming certain consonants which once were in possession. We shall soon have to examine the con-

sonant scale of the Subanu in order to see where they lie in relation to neighboring speech-families.

Because of the structure of the vocal organs we shall follow a natural method of study of this consonant diagram if in certain areas we deal with its horizontal members, in other areas if we direct the attention more particularly upon its vertical columns. At three distinct points near the outer end of the vibrant column of air we possess organs whereby closures may be made and from these closures consonants may be produced. These are the palate in the rear of the mouth-cavity, the tongue centrally situated within the cavity, the lips at the front of the cavity. Furthermore, at each of these closure-points the closure may be of any degree of completeness, and from this arises variety of sound there produced.

Our first horizontal member includes the semivowels. These are practically universal in human speech; upon *a priori* grounds we should expect so to find them; their general presence is confirmatory of the view that they represent the beginning of the acquisition of consonant power. All the vowels are formed with open throat; the true consonants are made with closures by palate, tongue and lips. It will be seen by simple experiment how these semivowels are formed. A light application of the fingers to the throat and lips will readily enable any one to identify the position in which any given sound is made. Thus we are able to discover that the **y** semivowel is formed near the palate, the **r** and the **l** in slightly different forms near the center of the cavity where the tongue is dominant, the **w** near the lips. The same digital examination will show after what manner they differ from the vowels proximate to those positions, how **i** and **y** are not quite the same, **a** slightly varies from **r** and **l**, **u** and **w** differ. It will be seen that the semivowels vary from the vowels in one direction, from the consonants in the other, in this important particular that the vibrant air-column is less open than in the case of the vowels, less closed than in the case of the consonants. In other words there is a constriction instead of a closure; the sounding pipe is not closed but it is constricted. Because this effect is an incomplete exercise of the power of each of these speech organs these semivowels are set upon our diagram not exactly in the palatal, lingual, and labial columns, but proximate thereto.

The next horizontal member is a triplet of consonants denominated the nasals. Here we should pause for a moment in order to avoid confusion with an idea subsisting in our common speech and likely to lead us astray. Of certain individuals in all our English societies, even of certain groups of individuals where the blemish in speech is so frequent that we incline to consider it a dialectic character, we commonly say that they speak through the nose. We use this expression *quia nemo scit;* for the briefest examination of this speech-fault will convince us that "speaking through the nose" is really speech with the nasal cavity

shut off, it is objectionable to our educated ears simply for the reason that we miss the supporting tones which have their origin in the upper air-passage.

The nasal consonants are really formed by dropping the veil of the palate and thereby opening to the passage of sound vibrations the nasal cavity with its twin exits. While the passage of the sound is thus diverted in a high degree (for we must not lose sight of the fact that this diversion is always present in a minor degree), the distinctive character of the sound is formed by the adjustment of the three consonant-producing organs to their peculiar positions of control. Here, also, digital examination will readily disclose the positions within the mouth-cavity out of which arise these three consonants, and the attention directed to the perception of the vibration of the air-column will soon discover the course of the vibrations through the upper cavity.

The possession and employment of the three nasals vary widely in the languages of men. The labial nasal **m** appears to be everywhere present in speech. This universality is not difficult to comprehend. While the consonants producible by the lips may require such precision in positioning the organs and such a fine sense of synchronization with the outward impulse of the air as to lie wholly outside the possibilities of many, if not most, of the more primitive languages, the **m** position is the simplest exercise of speech mechanism. Assuming the dropping of the veil of the palate and the quiescence of the two rearward speech-organs when the sound vibrations are about to issue, the result depends upon the position of the upper and nether lip relative to themselves and therefore to the sound-pipe. So long as the lips are not in contact with one another, the sound which issues is vocalic, and this holds equally true whether the lips are wide apart (as in the vociferous shout) or closely approximated (as in the production of the French vowel **u**). But if the lips come together in any one individual for but the briefest touch, we find that we have passed from vowel to consonant, the **m** is produced.

There is abundant reason to regard this consonant as the earliest acquisition of man and the foundation of human speech as consciously differentiated from the animal cry wholly vocalic. It is so light a difference that we incline to delude ourselves that some at least of the animals possess this or the lingual or the palatal nasals. This is evidenced by our onomatopoetic names for common animal cries, the bovine "moo," the "neigh" of the horse, the "cock-a-doodle-doo" of the barnyard fowl, even one slight step further in consonant development in the Cockney cry of the burro "hee-haw." A careful ear will soon discover that none of these animals shares our consonant possibilities; the effect is an error of interpretation in the human ear; what is really heard when these familiar animals vocalize is the appulse, the abrupt inception of the sound. This confusion all the more readily arises since the

nasals are of the class of consonants denominated sonant—that is to say, the sound is produced just before the closure is applied to the vibrant column.

It will be understood that no consonant is a sound in itself; it is only a modulant of the sonorous vibrating medium which, without such modulant, would produce no more than a vocalic sound. The nasals are therefore terminal of the sound. This is readily seen in what we know as mumbling, a name in which the use of the labial nasal plainly appears. With the lips wholly closed we find it possible to hear ourselves say "*um-um*," but we find it wholly impossible to produce that primitive consonant in the closed mouth if we attempt it in the initial position as "*mu-mu*."

The lingual nasal **n** is also a common property of most speech. It is frequently subject to mutation along the vertical column of the possibilities of tongue positioning within the buccal cavity; less frequently it tends to undergo an exchange with the palatal nasal; but in the main we are justified in regarding it as among the more permanent possessions of speech equipment.

The palatal nasal **ng** is in a marked degree less general and less permanent. To many languages it is missing; few of those which possess it can employ it in the initial position. We may see this in our own speech. We find a marked difficulty in using it as an initial when we attempt to acquire facility in languages which employ it at the beginning of words. Even in the final position it is subject to alteration along two distinct lines. In Oxford English of the present time speakers who profess their good taste say "comin" and "goin" and the like in the common present participle termination. Those who employ this manner of speech write the words, when they wish to indicate their pronunciation, as "comin'" and "goin'" and would describe the event as dropping the **g**. This is an absurd misconception of the mutation which takes place; in **ng** there is no **g** to drop except in so far as to the eye we use **n** and **g** in juxtaposition to serve as the symbol of a simple consonant which in the scientific alphabet and in any other reasonable alphabetic system is represented by a single character. What really happens is this: the palate, a peculiarly blunt and coarse organ of speech, being insufficiently under the fine control needed to give its nasal the true value, the more facile tongue is employed instead and we thus find **n** in the place of **ng**. The second mutation, a peculiarly vulgar error, is based upon the same inability to adjust the palate to its true position for this modulant. After taking the proper position at the beginning of the sound the palate glides into its ultimate position, which is more easily held. The result is that instead of a clear **ng** we have a double sound in which the nasal serves but as preface to the mute, **ng** terminated by **g** as a sonant, **ng** terminated by **k** as a surd. This is found in several of the vulgar dialects of England and is beginning to find a place

in the careless and uneducated speech of our own recent immigrants. In a recent circular of instructions issued by the school department of New York City it was considered proper to advise teachers to observe and to try to correct such pronunciations as "sing-ging" and "anythingk."

So far we have passed under review the heavy outline at the top of the incomplete square which we observe in the diagram of the Subanu consonant scheme. Having discussed the individual consonants which make up that heavy line in detail, we may now sum up the underlying principle. We find that the Subanu have acquired the constrictions at each of the three consonant-producing positions which are the semi-vowel bridges over which development passes through practice to the exertion of the true consonant-forming closures. We further find that the Subanu have acquired the closures of each of the three speech-organs in their lightest force.

Now we shall pass to the heavy outline which forms the bottom of the incomplete square; we distinguish it as heavy for the reason that we have a double equipment in all the mutes, the sonant as well as the surd. When we come to the comparison of the Subanu with certain other languages with which it has been sought to associate the Malayan languages, we shall note that many languages lack this double equipment and we shall find therein a critical character.

It is a long leap from the top of the square to its bottom. Yet in making it we are not carried away by the enticing force of an illustration, great and misleading though such enticement might prove. It is just that long leap which is taken in the development of speech facility. In another connection (*Easter Island*, page 18) I have discussed this matter at greater length than here seems necessary. It suffices to note that next after the easy nasals the speech-power passes to the utmost attainment of the mutes. This we find to be the case in the Subanu.

It would be idle to attempt to calculate the number of positions which may be taken by any one of the speech-organs. Undoubtedly between the limiting positions which establish the nasal and the mute each organ may assume a great many positions, but we need concern ourselves with but two or three or four positions at most. These serve to establish the different classes of consonants which have been found sufficiently distinct to serve the ends of clearly articulated speech. They do not exactly correspond in all languages. In any language they do not exactly correspond for all speakers; it is that quality which gives to human speech characters whereby we may, though tone deaf, identify our friends in the darkest night if they will but speak to us, or by modern miracle (now become a necessity of life) we may distinguish a familiar voice over miles of copper wire or when ground out from a wax cylinder or composition disk, so that even the dogs may sit up and take notice.

In our own English we have adopted four distinctive positions for the palate and the tongue and three for the lips; in each case two of

these positions are limiting, two and two and one are intermediate. It is in regard of these intermediate positions that we estimate the development of languages as a matter of evolutionary history and that we evaluate their orthoepic richness as determining their flexibility and beauty of efficiency as a means of communicating thought.

We have already spoken of the palate as a blunt organ. It is so seen to be on anatomic examination. Its movements and practical positions relative to the column of vibrant air are few. It is just such a coarse speech-organ as would serve the uses of a people to whom niceties of pronunciation remain yet needless. The tongue we see to be far other. In its speech use it has two forms of activity which operate singly or in conjunction: by changes in the form of its thicker body it is able to alter the shape of the central cavity of the mouth; by the precision with which its flexible tip may be applied to one point or other of the containing walls it may produce almost an infinitude of consonant modulants; at one extremity of its applicability it may compose with certain palatal positions to produce linguo-palatal sounds; at the other extremity it may compose with the inner aspect of the lips to produce linguo-labial sounds and in the same region with the teeth and gums to produce yet other sounds. In the arts the finer tools of precision are useless in prentice hands; training and skill are required before they can be economically employed. So with men to whom speech is yet an early and imperfect acquisition we should expect to find, we do in fact find, that the prodigious flexibility of the tongue is used in its least degree.

The lips again are extremely mobile organs. These "leaves of the mouth," as the Polynesian people denominate them, are capable of a great variety of closure which may impose upon the issuing vibrations of sound the last determining modification. The essential character of the tongue is its great flexibility; the essential character of the lips is their applicability to great refinements of precision. The positioning of the lips plays a part so large in our own speech that it has been found possible to teach the deaf to see speech by reading the lips. It would be interesting to learn to what extent lip-reading might apply to the case of the ruder folk who have not yet acquired distinct control of these organs. In a computation of the frequency of sounds in English and in Samoan I have shown that in speech involving 1,000 occurrences of the most frequent vowel sound the English employs the labials 908 times, the Samoan but 378. The labials are the last possession to be added to man's speech equipment, just as the lips are the last to come under control of their fine musculature. We employ but one of the possible intermediate closures of the lips in its dual phase of **v** sonant and **f** surd; some other languages make better use of the paired organs; many languages there are which have either not attained at all to any but the limiting lip closures or, if they have found the possibility of

intermediate closures, have not yet attained to precision in their use. The Subanu have not attained them at all. It is for that reason that the typical square of their consonant scheme is left open on that side.

On the other side, the bounding line of the palatal series is as complete as in English, though in a slightly different sense. Of the two principal and generally occurring intermediate closures we have permitted disuse to overcome the spirants **gh** and **kh**; the latter we seem to have rejected early in our speech history and to have selected the sonant in preference over the surd; the former yet remains present to the eye and a torment to our conservative orthography, as in "neighbor," which also exhibits the passage from the **kh** of *nachbar* to the sonant, yet in sound it has vanished. The Subanu have attained to the use of the palatal spirant in both its phases; our palatal sibilants, **zh** and **sh**, have not yet been acquired.

In the lingual series the Subanu has established the limiting closures—at the hither end the semivowel in its double phase, the nasal; at the distal end the mute in its two phases; in the intermediate space we employ with beautiful accuracy the spirant and the sibilant, each in its two phases; the Subanu has acquired no more than a single one of these four possible consonants, the surd lingual sibilant **s**.

There remains now for consideration the aspiration, an activity of speech so anomalous that in our diagram we set it to one side and on the margin, because it does not seem possible to associate it with any of the speech-organs. It is present in Subanu, but its use appears scanty in this vocabulary material; it is frequently dropped from situations where the intimately allied Visayan shows that it might be employed except for dialectic preference. There is really in this material so little bearing upon its phonetic place that I have been content to make but a single entry upon the diagram. In other studies based upon richer material I have shown that there is an aspiration proximate to the palate, an aspiration proximate to the tongue, and an aspiration proximate to the lips.

In speech sounds are employed singly or in combination. Thus we arrive at the need to study the syllable as a secondary unit of the spoken word. The sounds which may be employed singly are the vowels; their number is but small. Each vowel may enter into composition with one or more consonants in two positions, in either one or both. Convenience in study has led to the classification of these secondary units as open or closed syllables, according as the vowel sound is final or is closed by consonant modulation. There is more than convenience in this classification; languages fall into two primordial classes according as the syllables are of open or closed type. We then have the following varieties of syllables, two for each type: open syllables, vowel alone, consonant–vowel; closed syllables, vowel–consonant, consonant–vowel–consonant. The Subanu exhibits all four varieties of syllables; it is therefore a language of the closed type. To such an extent does the

disposition toward this character hold that we shall soon have occasion to note the somewhat frequent assumption of a final consonant by stems which the Subanu have taken on loan from languages of the open type.

Premising that the data upon which we are working lack much in the matter of extent, and that final accuracy of form is too much to expect in the conditions in which this Philippine speech finds its introduction to science, we shall find an interest in examining some of the distinctive characters of these vocables.

First we shall pay attention to the duplication phenomena. A characteristic of many languages of the primitive type, duplication so strongly marks the speech of Polynesia that it has been possible to study out its form varieties and to assign to the varying usage a value almost syntactical. For the fuller consideration of this mechanism of word-formation and word-employment I invite attention to my monograph upon "Duplication Mechanics in Samoan and their Functional Values" (1908) in "The American Journal of Philology," vol. XXIX, page 33. In the Subanu this mechanism is far less frequent than in Polynesian speech and its syntactical value less apparent. All the instances which are found in this vocabulary are here presented, together with the estimate of their functions in the scanty number of cases where that is deducible.

As expressive of the diminutive sense, Subanu duplication gives us the following *batabata, gibasgibas, manocmanoc, sapasapa* and *sibulansibulan.*

To express a plural or general collective, duplication here gives us *leenleen.* The cognate sense of plurality of action (verb) which inheres in reciprocal action, movement back and forth, is found in *gocabgocab* and *poc-sindilsindil.*

The intensive sense, really a protraction of the idea of plurality, is found in the following: *boangboang, cotecote, dayandayan, gonagona, libaliba, lingalinga, mog-langlaang.*

Owing to the paucity of our information, the remaining instances of duplication must remain unclassed as to the inner nature of their employment. These are the following: *conotconot, cotooto, dubdub, gwakgwak, gantingganting, gibusibus, limalima, lingulingu, maomao, niugniug, pondopondo, porongporong, so-ganagana.*

The foregoing instances are of the simplest type of duplication; the word as a whole is doubled. In the Polynesian languages, where this formation method reaches its highest development, the frequency of such simple duplication is so great as to establish a superficial character of the speech; in Subanu we have been able to discover, in so much of its vocabulary as is here contained, certainly a most considerable part, no more than the foregoing 28 instances, a percentage so small as not to be worth the arithmetic which it would require to determine it.

In the Polynesian languages, again, a very beautiful and flexible system has developed in the duplication mechanics to form a specific

type to which I have given the designation preduplication. This consists in duplicating the first syllable of a polysyllable; in the scheme which I have formulated for convenience in classifying duplications, the letters B, C, D, and so on, standing for the syllables of the word in order, preduplication is expressed by the formula BBC, or BBCD. Thus is created a very pretty system whereby syntactical differences may be expressed in languages far anterior to the mechanism of inflection. While preduplication is quite frequent in Polynesian we are able to discover but five instances in which its occurrence in Subanu is satisfactorily established and one in which some uncertainty holds. The five undoubted instances of preduplication occur in words compounded by the addition of prefixes. Of these, four duplicate an open initial syllable of the stem, namely *sogmog-sosulat, sogmog-dadao, po-gogovitan, a-lalaat.*

In the fifth instance we have the duplication of a closed initial syllable, *poc-agagom.* The doubtful instance is the word *gagun;* deriving this from the Malay *gōng,* as seems probable, we may class this as preduplicative. The chief objection, for vowel variety may here be neglected, is that *gōng* appears to be a monosyllable and our studies of duplication up to the present have afforded us no cases in which the duplication has dealt with anything less than the syllable as a unit, none which seems to split the syllable. On the other hand, the length of the vowel in *gōng* suggests a primitive *goong,* a dissyllable with two short vowels in time reduced to a monosyllable by crasis, yet retaining sufficient of the past life of the word to allow the resolution of the long vowel in the employment of duplication. Likewise, our future studies upon composition of words by formative members applied interiorly will indicate very clearly that there is here no disposition to regard the syllable unit as a thing so fixed as to preclude its separability.

Before we proceed to the details of composition in the Subanu words, we note a case where composition involves the loss of a stem vowel. The instances are few and curious. The loss of stem vowel is unmistakable in *pic-nogan* from *inog, mog-langlaang* from *laang, quina-anglan* from *angol* as we establish from its Visayan relative *hangol.* In lack of definite information upon the point, I include herewith *guiadman* from *doma* and *poalat* from *laat;* it is quite possible that *adman* and *alat* derive from *doma* and *laat* through inversion of the former syllables. While this may seem to us a brutal treatment of the syllable, we shall find in the comparison of the Subanu with the Visayan, in the next chapter, so many instances explicable only as inverts that we may anticipate that etymological mechanism in this case. The word *pogugba* remains; this composite is *pog-ugba;* the stem seems (the sense supporting) to be associable with *gapog.* It does no violence to the genius of the language to excise the final **g,** which is no more than a suffix establishing the noun character of the attributive vocable, and therefore is properly dismissed

when the attributive passes into verb sense. Next, inversion of the former syllable in the resultant *gapo* gives us *agpo;* it is very simple and general phonetics to find the sonant **g** attracting its neighbor **p** from surd to sonant in its own series; therefore *agpo* becomes *agbo*, and lack of vowel fixity is so characteristic of this rude speech that *ugba* is quite explicable.

We are next to examine a phonetic usage which is not properly to be dealt with as a case of consonant mutation, for it affects certain consonants, the two palatal mutes, positionally; that is to say, only when they are used as the initial consonant of the vocable. It will be seen in the vocabulary that many vocables which begin with the syllable **ca** are duplicated by forms which lack the **c** and that to a lesser extent this double form is true of vocables with **ga** initial. Even where the double form does not appear in the Subanu vocabulary, a reference to the Visayan affiliates will show that the uncertainty exists. There are three seeming exceptions to this principle of uncertainty as restricted to the beginning of words, *cotooto*, *gibusibus*, and *gonauna*. It will be seen that while the loss appears to have taken place in a position inner with respect of the vocable, it is initial with respect of the stem duplicated.

To a certain extent it has been possible to associate these variant forms with the several sources of the vocabulary material. Yet after all that leads nowhere, for there is no uniformity; the source which affords us the abraded form in one vocable may yield the full form in another and precisely similar vocable, and each in turn applies or neglects the initial palatal mute in the case of vocables for which we have a Visayan or even Spanish original. Thus from the Spanish *caballo* the Subanu borrows the transliteration *cabayo* and parallels it with an abraded form *abayo*. It will not be difficult in scanning the vocabulary under these initials to find a sufficiency of instances to show that the Subanu abrades the mute initial in words which clearly possessed it in the source of the loan. On the other hand there are quite as many instances to show that Subanu, through some principle in its own phonetics, assumes **c** or **g** as initial to words which in the Visayan are devoid thereof; for instance *gama* is Visayan *amahán*. In our later examination of the exterior relations of both Subanu and Visayan we shall observe this word in its proper class and shall discover that the **g** is really a Subanu assumption upon a stem which in its genesis began with a consonant wholly distinct in series and in the speech-organ employed. We are warranted in the statement that the Subanu assumed an initial consonant and that this assumed consonant tends to disappear.

I have had a sense that this matter of the assumed initial palatal mute represented a senior and a junior stage of the language; that it was an ancient Subanu character to assume the mute, and that in the more recent stage it was being dropped in avoidance of dialectic rudeness, as intercourse became more free with more advanced Visayan

neighbors. Against this provisionally formed impression militate two important facts; the former is that we have no data, other than inference wholly from outside, upon which to base a valuation of relative age in the vocabulary which now for the first time comes to us in a very disheveled mass, but all essentially modern; the latter is that the historic record, as presented by Colonel Finley in Part I of this volume, makes it plain that the Subanu shrank, and with the best of good reason, from intercourse with their more advanced neighbors. This impression may therefore, and quite properly, be dismissed.

I believe that we have here a far more interesting and philologically important principle at work; that we are not dealing with a later and refining process of speech, but with a rude and primitive principle effecting word formation at a stage when words are things to be created by evolution of speech power. This apparently anomalous assumption of initial affects the palatal mute. In terms of speech evolution we see that this is an activity of the first of the speech-organs to come under control and that so far as relates to that organ it is the result of the maximum speech effort; for the variety of **c** and **g** is here negligible, since it amounts to a mere shading of the manner of vibration at the exit time and place of the sound formed by the particular closure. In this view I regard the assumed initial as appulse.

I have employed this term in connection with the explanation of our English onomatopees formed in the effort to create words to denominate descriptively the familiar cries of our domestic companions to whom true speech has not yet come in facilitation of the small ideas which they try so hard to communicate to us. Appulse is the initial of all sound, the beginning of the characteristic vibration from a state of rest. It does not exist in sound; it is an interpretation through the ear and in the auditory centers of the brain of the suddenness of existence of a sound out of stillness. Here I credit it to the interpretation of a very rude human speech. Hitherto I have credited it to the interpretation of the cries of barnyard animals. It is yet more general, for as it does not qualify sound in itself, but does qualify aural interpretation of sound, we may sense appulse even in mechanically produced vibrations. In littoral conditions of abode I am well within the range of a steam siren, say at a distance of four miles. During still winter nights, when falling snow draws a curtain against the harbor mouth, I can hear the blast of that instrument whose monotone is more prophylactic than musically pleasing. Four times in each minute the air is filled with a wailing sound which is essentially vocalic, yet four times in each minute my sensorium reads into it an initial consonant, the maximum effort of the labials. I hear *Pooo-Pooo*. Nor am I singular in this; it is not a matter of the personal equation of the observer; it has gone into our speech in the onomatopee "puff." Thus the appulse is our misreading of the change from silence to sound; we go a trifle too far and read a

consonant in our audition where no consonant exists. To vocalize that audition we must employ a consonant and thus we take a mere ghost of speech and materialize it. If we, long culture ages higher in development with wit and ability (sometimes put to use) of knowing what we are talking about, do this in our common speech, think how more potent this must be with the rude savages remote in their mountains. It is their nature, as it is the nature of most rude folk in the higher cultures, to be strong in their speech, and this is most manifest at the beginnings and endings of words. We shall examine in another connection the mutation of **d**, a firm and strong consonant when at the end of the word, reducible to the weaker lingual effort in medial **r** when the word receives a formative suffix. This principle of strength at either end of the word tends to build up the appulse into a true consonant.

Such examination as at this point we may give to the characteristic consonant mutations in Subanu is confined to those few instances in which we find two forms in use. There are but few more than a dozen cases in which mutation is discoverable within Subanu itself, but these will prove valuable as establishing an introduction to the larger mass of phonetic material which will become available when we discuss this inner speech in its relation to exterior cognate languages and particularly to its immediate neighbor the Visayan.

At present we register a note of a distinctive phenomenon which not yet are we prepared to comprehend: every single instance of mutation which we may establish upon purely Subanu material is found in connection with the tongue, with two exceptions. These two are wholly anomalous; the former is *daromog* as a variant of *domomog*, mutation from labial nasal to lingual semivowel; the latter is *palad* as a variant of *palag*, mutation from surd lingual mute to sonant palatal mute. It will be observed that in each of these instances the mutation is *extra seriem* and that there is movement out of class, nasal to semivowel in one case, surd to sonant in the other. Those who have accompanied me in my studies of the Polynesian phonetic will have no difficulty in finding in the mutation of *palad* to *palag* an instance, solitary in Subanu, of the kappation of **t** which is so marked a present character of many languages in the central and eastern region of the Pacific.

The lingual mutations which we have been able to segregate for study are most frequently from the mute, the maximum speech effort of the tongue, clear across the whole range of its activity to the minimum effort in the liquid semivowel. The surd lingual mute **t** affords one instance: in *posoloron*, from the stem *solot*, we find the mutation **t–r.** This is the weakening of a consonant strong when final into the liquid when it ceases to be final upon the addition of a formative suffix.

The same principle is active in the case of the sonant lingual mute **d** as a final with mutation to **r** in the following instances: *guicoran* and *poguingcora*, from the stem *cod; linonsoran*, from the stem *lonsod; pego-*

taran, from the stem *gatad;* and *tobora* from the stem *tobod*. I have already directed attention upon the fact that rude speakers give particular force to the beginnings and endings of words; this weakening mutation is in itself confirmatory. In the three following instances we shall observe the **d–r** mutation applied to the initial **d** when it is buried under a formative prefix: *maralag*, from stem *dalag; corala*, from stem *dalá; marope*, from stem *dope*.

In the sole instance of *batasan* from stem *batad*, we find a mutation that stops midway: instead of upon the semivowel, the weakening mute rests at the sibilant. We lack data for the determination whether the variants *boid* and *buis* represent the same halfway mutation or whether this is an example of an **s–d** mutation not elsewhere discovered.

If this inversion of mutation movement remains in doubt in the matter of **s–d,** we may regard it as definitely settled in the case of **r–d** in two instances: the variants *danao* and *lanao* and *dongog* and *rongog*. The proof is external to Subanu, external in fact to all Indonesian speech, yet we are justified in advancing it from its proper later place in order to settle this matter of phonetics. The parent of *rongog* is certainly the Polynesian *longo* (*rongo*); thus it is clear that this is really a case of **r–d** mutation. The other word, *lanao*, is not quite so clear; it appears associable with two Polynesian words, *lano* sweet water and *lanu* a lake, these two being probably a divaricated stem. If this be indeed the source of *lanao*, the **r–d** mutation, already once established, receives confirmation. In the Bontoc Igorot we find *tjĕnum, dănum, dĕnom*, all in the sense of potable water. This series, so fortunately preserved, gives us both *lano* and *lanu* derivatives in the signification of sweet water, and goes far toward establishing the original unity of the divaricated vocables.

The uncertainty which I have manifested in the discussion of *lanao* rests not only upon the diversity of sense but rather more upon the lack of acquaintance with the phenomenon of **ao** employed in dipthong value as representative of an earlier source vowel. The collation of the Bontoc Igorot upon which I engaged after the foregoing note had been written has given a satisfactory suite of instances in which this dipthong appears as the mutation product of the vowel **o**.

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
boligan	faolengan	goloan	olaoan	tao	takao
gayo	kayao	linao	alinoao	toon	taaowin

This does not exhaust the source of this dipthong. From **a** we have *balin-gawa–kaaowa*, from **e** *goyamet–komaot*, from **u** *pusu–baosig*.

This discovery applies particularly to the etymology of *lanao*. We see here abundant evidence that *lano* and *lanao* are homogenetic; we have an item of confirmation of a possible *lanu–lanao* association.

Finally, we are to note one more phonetic principle of great interest. This is the speech necessity of supporting or prefacing the mutes with the nasal of their own proper series. I have already dwelt at some length upon my belief that the nasal, as the easiest and least forceful exercise of the speech activity of any organ of speech, is the earliest acquired, and that from the weakest exercise of the speech activity the man in his acquisition of control of the new power leaps next to the strongest exercise of that power. This case of the prefaced mutes fits naturally into such an explanation. The particular organ (palate, tongue, or lips) to be used is naturally put into its most familiar position as a preliminary to the passage toward the more difficult. This preliminary position encourages a light vocalization which appears just prior to the enunciation of the more difficult sound, a principle which is entirely accepted as causative of the differentiation of sonant and surd. The prefaced palatal mute, **ngg** or **ngk,** undoubtedly occurs in Subanu as in the Visayan, although our vocabulary does not make its existence clear.

Of the prefaced lingual mute **nd** and the prefaced labial mutes **mp** and **mb** we note that the occurrence is most marked when the mute which has been able to hold its own when in the forceful initial position becomes weakened by the employment of a prefix. Thus, from *daay, daapa,* and *di* we derive by composition *gondaay, ondaapa,* and *ondi;* from *pia, poti* and *pulo* we derive supported forms *gompia, gompoti, gompulo.* Similarly, *bagol, baya,* and *bata* provide the prefaced forms *gombagol, sogombaya,* and *gombata.*

We may see a reason underlying all these instances if we look back to the alphabetic diagram. It will be noticed that the vowel **o**—and it will undoubtedly have been noticed already that each one of the prefaced mutes is introduced by this vowel—is set upon the diagram in a position midway between the region controlled by the tongue in speech and that regulated by the lips. When one is sounding **o** the lips and the forward cavity of the mouth are in position to pass to a lingual or to a labial consonant with equal ease. But when speech is yet a new art the speaker must, with more or less of design, pass to the first position which shall determine lingual or labial, namely, the nasal position. The very slightest vocalization of this position will exhibit to our comprehension how it comes to pass that each mute is prefaced by the nasal proper to the organ wherewith it is formed.

In all Subanu there is but one instance of a prefaced mute which does not represent the weakening of a strong initial, yet that one involves the same use of **o**: this is *sogmogombal,* from stem *gobal;* yet on better acquaintance with the language this exception may prove more apparent than real. The general form of the prefix is *sogmog,* although *sogmo* occurs; the stem appears in our vocabulary as *gobal,* yet the abrasion of initial palatal mutes is so frequent that it may very well be that

this composite is *sogmog-obal*, and thus the **b** may be brought so close to the initial position as to be governed by the general rule.

This system of prefaced mutes is found somewhat widely spread, in whole or in part, in the tangle of languages which we denominate Melanesian. In Fiji it has become an invariable rule; that speech has no sonant mutes which can stand alone of their own power; the preface of the nasal of the series is required and we hear **ngg, nd,** and **mb.**

Great variety of form is given to the Subanu vocables by the free employment of formative members. We lack the data whereupon to work out the syntactical value of these accessories of speech, but we can arrange our material to prove the existence of the following types of word composition: 1, prefix alone; 2, suffix alone; 3, infix alone; 4, prefix-suffix; 5, infix-suffix.

1. The following are the prefixes employed in composition without accessory formative members; in the cases of those less frequently used the instances of occurrence are noted; where this reference is not made, the words are readily found in the vocabulary order under the particular prefix.

a duplicating the initial syllable, *alalaat.*
ba *basulan, baton.*
be *belema, belintis.*
ca
cu *cutao.*
di probably of prepositional value, *dialum, dibaban, dien, dipag, diselum, ditaas.* In the Malay *di* is distinctly a preposition.
do *dosop.*
em (**ma** variant) *embais,* ? *empetek.*
g (**ca, ga** variant) *gayac.*
go *godaay, gondaay, gondi, gompia, gompoti, gompulo, gopia, gotao.*
ig (probably a **ga** variant, as **em** of **ma**).
ma (variant forms **me, mi, mo, mu**).
maca (variant forms **maa, maga**).
mali
mi *milipay.*
mig
mo *molomo, moloto.*
moc (variant form **mog**).
mu *musop.*
negmeg (variant of **nogmog**).
noc (secondary forms are **nocmaca, nocpig, nocpog, nocti**).
nog (secondary forms are **nogma, nogmig**).
nong (**nog** variant).
pa (variant form **pe**).
paca (variant form **paa,** as **maca** of **maa**).
pac (variant form **pag**).
pala (variant form **palo**). *palalabian, palaminis, palapa, palobaya.*
pic (variant forms **pig, ping**).
ping (**pig** variant). *pingoctuban, pingondian.*
po (**pa** variant; alternative and secondary forms **poc, poca, pocca, poco, pog, pogli, poglo**).
poglo (secondary **po** form). *socalpoglogomutan.*
quina (**kina**).
sa (variant forms are **sac, sag, soc, sog**).
so (secondary forms are **sopoc, sopoglo**).
soc (secondary forms are **socmec, socmi, socmica, socmo, socmoc, socmog, socpo, socpog, socsocal**).
socal (secondary form is **socsocal**).
sog (**soc** variant; secondary forms are **sogmaca, sogmag, sogme, sogmi, sogmica, sogmig, sogmo, sogmoc, sogmog, sogpaca, sogpig, sogpo, sogsocal**).

2. The following are the suffixes which are used with no earlier formative element; more properly it is a list of the suffixes when used alone, for we shall find most of them in use in combination with prior prefix or infix.

–an *antosan, balidyaan, batasan, begyaan, boocan, bootan, donggoan, gaitan, gaoman, labanan, lintisan, lobungan, pandayan, pintasan, salapian, sinbaan, sindepan, tabian, togotan.*
–en *pimolaen.*
–han *ulihan.*
–l *bonoal.*
–nen *panganen.*
–non *pomolanon.*
–on *baloson, gantoson, motaon, saboton.*

3. In this list are gathered the infixes in their employment without other formative elements.

-al- *dalomdom, logalin.*
-eng- *bengawan.*
-in- *binaal, binutong, linagami, lines, quinaan, sinonan, tinalicala, tiningog, tinongol.*
-li- *golitao.*
-n- *laronon.*
-om- *domangop, gomolang, somaloy, somama, somacay, somocol.*
-on- *tinongol.*
-uk- *gimukud.*
-ul- *bulud.*

4. In this list are entered the instances in which prefix and suffix appear simultaneously.

ci-, -n *cisabaon.*
ga-, -an *gabuludan.*
ga-, -nen *gabilunen, galonaonen, gapetnen, gapulonen, gasalagnen, gataluknen.*
ge-, -an *gedungusan.*
ge-, -nen *gemisnen, getomnen.*
go-, -nen *gosomnen.*
gi-, -nan *gipianan.*
gui-, -an *guibogan, guicoran.*
ka-, -nen *kagobolnen.*
ma-, -on *malalison.*
ma-, -ot *malipotot.*
pe-, -an *pegotaran, pegoyonan.*
pic-, -an *picnogan, pictoonan.*
pic-, -nan *picpongonnan.*
pig-, -an *pigbuatan, pigdaoan.*
poc-, -on *poctoboson.*
sogme-, -an *sogmebagolan.*
sogmi-, -an *sogmigagoyan.*

5. Here we list the instances in which infix and suffix are simultaneously applied to stems.

-al-, -an *dalinduman.*
-en-, -an *beninalan, benoiran, senombagan.*
-im-, -an *timondoan.*
-in-, -an *linonsoran, linunbogan, binalan.*

We need not now give particular attention to prefixes and suffixes beyond the mere listing of their occurrence. They appear to be governed by rules sufficiently familiar in the science of speech. The infixes, however, are worth all the study which we can put upon them in this place, for the use of infixes is not only a distinctive character of Indonesian languages, but is a diagnostic and critical character.

In the material which we have here collated it is clear, upon the first inspection, that the infix is almost always applied to the initial syllable of the word-stem.* But four exceptions are noted and it will be proper to submit these exceptional uses to examination before advancing upon the general theme. The instance of **log**-*al*-**in** offers no explanation.

We find variant forms of one stem, *guimukud* and *guimud;* superficially this appears an infixature, **guim**-*uk*-**ud.** The two forms are

*From Dr. Seidenadel's *Language of the Bontoc Igorot* I extract the following memoranda upon the structural use of infixature, the references being to the sections of his essay on the grammar:

68. The part of the body which is wounded, hit, struck, etc., is expressed by the infix *-in-* placed into the reduplication of substantives with initial consonants; to those with an initial vowel *in-* is prefixed and the initial vowel is doubled.

119. Progressive quality, or transition of a quality into a higher degree, is expressed by adding to these verbalized forms the particle *um* as prefix before an initial vowel; but as infix if the adjective begins with a consonant. As infix *-um-* is placed between the initial consonant and the first vowel.

170. *Um-* is used exclusively with personal verbs. *Um-* is prefixed to initial vowels; if there is an initial consonant *-um-* enters the root and takes its place between the initial consonant and the vowel of the first syllable.

231. But *-in-* is infixed, or placed between the initial consonant and the following vowel of verbs beginning with a consonant.

merely variants, we have no other evidence that *–uk–* is used as an infix; it produces no change of meaning, and all our well-established infixes function in value, though not in position, as inflectional. In view of the fact that elsewhere we note the tendency of palatal mutes to vanish, it is quite possible that *guimukud* is the true form of the vocable, that it becomes *guimuud* by loss of the palatal, then by crasis *guimud*.

In **laro**–*n*–**on,** as an infixature from *laroon,* the infix *–n–* seems associable with the well-established infixes *–en–, –in–, –on–*; furthermore, its presence changes an adjective into a noun, a proper function of this composition member.

In **tin**–*oṅ*–**gol,** as an infixature from *tingol,* we encounter yet another anomaly. In all the other instances the infix is applied between consonant and vowel; here it seems to be applied between two consonants. It is more remarkable than it seems. In Subanu **ng** is not a compound consonant, it is as individual a consonant as **n** or **m** of the class to which it belongs or as **g** and **k** of the series in which it occurs. Accordingly we are at a loss to comprehend this severing of a consonant by the insertion of a formative element.

In the regular infixatures the introduced element falls into two types according as the consonant is liquid or nasal. We note, but without full comprehension of the significance of the fact, that these are the weakest of consonant possibilities. The liquid we find as *–al–* and *–li–*. The nasal infix appears most frequently as *–in–* and *–en–*. The solitary instance of *–eng–* in the infixature **b**–*eng*–**awan** from *bawang* suggests a leaping interchange of **n** and **ng** which is familiar in the general study of phonetics. A second place is occupied by the labial nasal in *–im–* and *–om–*.

At this point it will be proper to introduce the loan material which the Subanu has assumed from the Spanish. From this material, scanty though it be, we shall be able to derive a few principles upon which the mountaineers deal with speech acquisitions which for various reasons they may desire to incorporate in their own language. The considerations thus based upon a language with which we are familiar will enable us to make a better start in the next chapter, where we shall consider the relation of Subanu with its congener Visayan. The Spanish loans are set down in the following table:

Subanu.	Spanish.	Subanu.	Spanish.	Subanu.	Spanish.
aao	cacao	camote	camote	paldon	padron
abayo	caballo	capote	capote	pares	par
antocos	anteojos	compinsal	confesar	sarol	azada
apote	capote	daro	arar	sengguil	señor
bandela	bandera	gasol	azul	sondalo	soldado
bino	vino	gobednarol	gobernador	tacho	tacho
bobó	bobo	laguas	enaguas	viste	veste
cabayo	caballo	locao	lugar		

The abrasion of an initial mute (*aao, abayo, apote*) has already been discussed at length; it calls for less attention here since for the second and third of these instances we have unabraded forms as well. The assumption of an initial palatal mute is exhibited in *gasol.*

The Spanish **r** becomes **l** except in *daro, pares.*

That *bino* shows a change of Spanish **v** to **b** while *viste* retains it unaltered, although this labial spirant is not included in the proper alphabet, is easily explicable. The Tagalog, with whom the Spaniards came first into contact, made the mutation to *bino;* thence, as the knowledge of vinous and distilled liquors spread in advance of the Spanish culture and through purely Philippine exchanges, the different languages encountered in this very intoxicating course adopted the Tagalog word long before the original Spanish form came within their knowledge.

The interior change whereby *confesar* becomes *compinsal* is of peculiar interest and will not be difficult of comprehension if we approach it simply. In the **f** the Subanu finds a consonant modulant to which his lips are not trained, and it must equally be understood that his ear is undoubtedly as yet dull to its nicety of position and vibration. He does the best he can; he hits the ultimate labial possibility **p,** and because he has been making a particular effort to employ an unfamiliar labial he is easily led to attract the preceding nasal from **n** of the lingual series to **m** of the labial series.

In *gobernador* and *padron* he hears the **r** grasseyé, a variant of the liquid which is beyond his practice. That in *gobednarol* and *paldon* he has reproduced this by **d,** the ultimate possibility of lingual effort, is yet one more instance that when for any reason he has to pass beyond the minimum consonant activity there is nothing to check his effort before reaching the maximum activity. Yet in each of these words a **d** which is easy for him to produce goes back to the liquid, **r** and **l** respectively. This is a secondary result of the particular effort already made which has produced a mutation **d** and therefore renders necessary some variant in the simple **d.**

In *sondalo,* from *soldado,* the mutation from the lingual semivowel to the nasal of its own series is a passage through the least possible distance. That it has been made in this case I incline to attribute to the Subanu tendency when **d** in an interior position is preceded by **o** to employ the preface of the nasal of its own series, as we have seen in *gondaay* and *gondi.*

These words *sondalo* and *sarol* and *gobednarol* show an **r** or **l** derivative from **d,** a tendency which we have already seen operative in the case of a truly Subanu **d** when in an inner position.

CHAPTER III.

SUBANU-VISAYAN FILIATION.

Geographically, the Subanu occupy a position within the region of their Visayan neighbors, unneighborly foes as appears distinctly in Colonel Finley's sketch of their life. In comparison of culture the Subanu are on a plane far lower than the Visayans; yet so large an element of Subanu speech is found in the Visayan that we must recognize that some manner of relationship exists. Of what manner this relationship is, whether the Subanu is an archetypal speech from which the Visayan has evolved through more active use in better culture conditions, whether the common element in Subanu has been absorbed by the mountain folk from their keener neighbors, or whether each draws its descent from a common source—these are problems which naturally suggest themselves and to which we shall direct attention in this chapter.

The proportion which this common stock of Subanu-Visayan bears to the vocabulary of the Subanu here assembled is so large that the theory of absorption is scarcely tenable. Such absorption of more cultured speech by a lower race becomes possible only when there is long-continued association in conditions where it is either convenient or necessary for the lower race to adopt the readiest means of communication with the superior.

In the general field of language growth through environment we may readily pick examples of the limiting cases of this absorption possibility. Where the association of higher and lower is most largely a matter of the adoption, voluntarily on either side, of a *modus vivendi*, and where the questions of civic domination are negligible, we find the jargon type of speech, the Pidgin, the lingua franca. How scanty such a trade speech need be and yet serve all the ends of intercommunication, may be estimated from the jargon of the western Pacific, culturally more fairly comparable with Mindanao conditions than would be the Pidgin-English of the China coast. I have presented the results of such study in a monograph on the "Beach-la-Mar." Referred to the base of any one of the rude island tongues which have contributed to this speech magma, the Beach-la-Mar represents about one per cent of the speech equipment of the lower folk; relative to the superior English, it is infinitesimal.

To this type we assign the Pidgin of China, for it has been voluntarily assumed under the attraction of trade chances and is not at all to be regarded as forced upon its users by a conquering people. Here, too, we place the Chinook of the northwest coast of America. It may

appear inconsistent that we place the white-red Chinook jargon in a different class from the white-black Krooboy, but personal experience has shown me conclusively that the attitude of the white man to the red and of the red man to the white in the Puget Sound artificial speech is that of partnership and voluntary contribution to the capital stock. On the other hand the relation of white and black on the African beaches is essentially that of master and servant, even if the law prevents the name of slave.

At the other limit of such possibility we have the frequent cases in which an inferior race stands to the dominant superior in the servile relation. The history of African slavery gives us a considerable range of the speech possibilities which result. In the West Indies we encounter certain jargons which yet await philological examination; such are the Papimiento of Curaçao and the Negro English of the Guianas; to these we add the Krooboy of the African west coast as genetically associable. We are sufficiently acquainted with these and others of the type to recognize that they form but a small part of the vernacular, that they are regarded by their users as a foreign language; in fact the cannibals of the western Pacific refer to the Beach-la-Mar as "speak English." On the other hand, in our own land the Africans have undergone a loss of their widely varying vernaculars; their contribution to even our lowest speech is practically negligible.

Yet the element common to Visayan and Subanu is all of half of the latter, a fact in itself which argues that it is not to be associated with trade jargon or servile speech. On other than linguistic grounds Colonel Finley's narrative contraindicates any such possibility of absorption. He has made it satisfactorily clear that there was no freedom of intercourse in trade of Visayans with Subanu; that the shy Subanu withdrew to the mountains and thereby avoided the chance of slavery; that the slight mixed element, despite the catholicity of the Mohammedan faith in absorbing inferior races, forms but a despised element under equal contempt of the Moro and of the hill tribe.

We might multiply considerations to show that Subanu absorption of Visayan material is out of the question, but the foregoing will surely suffice.

What, then, is the source of this very extensive speech community amounting to 463 items?

Before we can pass intelligently upon the problem here involved, we shall proceed in the more orderly course by collating the common material in the several classes into which it proves associable and thus study the types of variety in this community.

In the first group, very nearly half the material (226 items), we shall collect the common element where the two languages differ in this record only by means of formative elements (which for convenience we indicate by type differentiation) or in regard of the vowels. It has

already been noted that in Subanu there is such uncertainty in vowel employment as to remove that element of speech wholly from a critical position. The same is true of the Visayan. Therefore we are under double necessity to disregard vowel mutations in this record, for we have no certain base upon which to erect a critical structure.

Words common to Subanu and Visayan.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
aba	abaa	dalan	dalan	mata	mata
agom	agom	dali	dali	matay	matay
a*la*laat	alaot	daoa	daoa	mis	*ta*mis
ambit	ambit	dapig	dapig	*mo*noog	naog
antos*an*	antos	daro	daro	moo	moo
ang	ang	dato	dato	mota	mota
asoang	asoang	dila	dila	motood	matood
atop	atop	dilo	dili	name	namo
ba	ba	dogo	dogó	napo	napo
baal	baol	d*om*angop	dangop	nepes	nipis
baba	baba	donggo*an*	donggo	ngalan	ngalan
baboy	baboy	dongog	dongog	obos	obos
baga	baga	doso	doso	ogboc	ogboc
balagon	balagon	gasa	gasa	olang	olang
balani	balani	gatas	gatas	osa	osa
balay	balay	gaui	gaoi	paa	paa
balbal	balbal	gobii	gabii	palongan	palongan
balibad	balíbad	gobot	gobot	palos	palos
baling	baling	gua	goa	panday	panday
balod	balod	gubat	gobat	panilong	panilong
balon	balon	gulang	golang	pasaylo	pasaylo
bangot	bangot	init	init	pat	*o*pat
basa	basa	inom	inom	patay	patay
basul*an*	basol	labi*an*	labi	patod	patod
bata	bata	labon	labon	pili	pili
batasan	batasan	laen	lain	pinilian	pinilian
batirol	batiról	lalis	lalis	pintas	pintas
bato	bató	lanao	lanao	pitu	pito
batog	batog	lansang	lansang	*poco*loya	*pagca*loya
baton	baton	langan	langan	polos	polos
bilin	bilin	langit	lingit	pono	pono
biling	biling	latin	l*in*atin	ponoan	ponoan
binocot	binnócot	lauas	laoas	*po*nooc	naog
bisan	bisan	layo	layo	pongol	pongol
boangboang	boangboang	leeg	liog	posinao	pasinao
boaya	boaya	leenleen	lainlain	poti	poti
bolit	bolit	libac	libac	potol	potol
bonal	bonál	libang	libang	puasa	poasa
bono	bono	libot	libot	pulo	pola
bonoa	banoa	ligo	ligo	sa	*osá*
boot	boot	lima	lima	sabay	sabay
botang	botang	limbong	limbong	sabot	sabot
botasan	botasan	linao	linao	sacay	sacay
bulac	bolac	linganay	linganay	saguing	saguing
bulan	bolán	lingin	lingin	sala	sala
bunga	bonga	lioat	lioat	salapi	salapi
buot	boot	lipay	lipay	sama	sama
butang	botang	lisod	lisod	sambag	sambag
caban	caban	lobung	lobong	samoc	samoc
cahoy	cahoy	lolan	lolan	sapau*an*	sapao
calauat	caláoat	lolid	lolid	sayop	sayop
cana	can*on*	loon	loon	siam	siám

Words common to Subanu and Visayan—Continued.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
conot	conot	lopa	lopa	siclat	siclit
cota	cota	lotao	lotao	silong	silong
cotecote	coticoti	loto	loto	sipoon	sipon
daag	daog	loya	loya	sobo	sobo
dacsoc	d*in*asoc	maligon	maligon	sogo	sogo
dagat	dagat	managat	m*an*anagat	sogpa*on*	sagpá
dala	dala	mananap	mananap	s*om*ocol	socol
dalaga	dalaga	manoc	manoc	sompoy*an*	sompay
sontoc	sontoc	tapus	tapos	tolod	tolod
sopang	sopang	teguib	tigib	tolog	tolog
suba	sobá	tian	tian	tonao*an*	tonao
sulat	solat	tibooc	tibooc	too	too
sulu	soló	ticas	ticas	toon	toon
taab	taob	tigom	tigom	tuba	toba
taas	taas	tina	tina	tubig	tobig
tabi*an*	tabí	t*in*alicala	talicalá	tuman	toman
tagana	tagana	tingala	tingala	tumbaga	tombaga
tago	tago	tingog	tingog	tuyo	toyo
talao	talao	tobang	tabang	uli*mo*	oli
tampalasan	tampalasan	tobe	tabi	walu	oaló
tampoling	tampalíng	tobod	tobod	ya	ya
tao	taoo	togot	togot	yaua	yaoa
tapis	tapis	tolo	toló		
tapolan	tapolan	tolo	tolo		

We shall next follow out the examination of such filiation as may subsist between the Subanu and the Visayan, progressing from the vowel area by the naturally developing series of consonant classes. In this examination I have set the Subanu form in the former position and have compared the Visayan therewith; it should be made clear that until the data have been assembled we leave in suspense the question as to which language occupies the prior position, for the settlement of this and allied questions must rest upon our reading of the collated data.

In the first order we undertake the comparison of the liquids and begin with **r**. In the three words, *arunaan*, *gare*, and its variant *lare*, **r** is common to the two languages; it will be observed that it lies in an inner position.

In type **r–d** the Subanu **r** represents a Visayan **d** in the nine instances it is medial in its occurrence. The irregular filiation of *sora–isda* will find its explanation later under the theme of inversion.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type **r–d.**					
gare	hadi	poraigon	padayigon	sora	isda
guicoran	lingcodan	porong	podong	taron	tadong
laraban	ladaoan	sayor*on*	sayod	torong	tadong
Type **r–l**		marongot	maligotgot*on*	?porang	bolad.
Type **r–w**		morala	oala		

In the collation of the other liquid, **l**, we shall find these types and certain others which do not appear in the paucity of the **r** material.

Type **l–l**, that is the community of the letter:

balidya	donlag	guilat	logalin	lotang	sapulu
binal	?dula	guilid	logoc	lua	solog
boclag	gaclop	laang	logong	lugbas	solot
bolaan	galad	lagi	logud	magalin	sool
bolao	goles	lagoy	lolat	maloot	talinga
bolig	golitao	lee	lonao	molió	tolisan
cogool	golo	*lin*es	lonsod	morala	ulatay
dalá	gonlo	linga	lood	palon	ulihan
debaloy	guil	logan	loop	puli	

When we compare type **l–d** with the parallel type **r–d** we see that, whereas that appears only medial, this is found initial, medial, and final. We anticipate the explanation of *luma-odma* as an invert.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type **l–d.**					
?guilos	iding	loon	daghan	ponicol	panicad
laat	daot	luma	odma	sicol	sicad
*lin*agami	dagami				
Type **l–t.**		lopong	topong		
Type **d–l.**		?good	dool		
Type **t–l.**		lompoc	tapoc		
Type **l–g(c).**		lamo	camo	sindil	indig
Type **g–l.**		guingcod	lingcod		
Type **n–l.**		niguan	ligoan		
Type **l** vanished.		bila	abian	daan	dalan
Type **l–h.**		lare	hari		
Type **l–s.**		liga	siga		
Type **nd–dl.**					
ondao	adlao	ondoc	hadloc	tondo	todlo
Type **pl–mp.**		sopla	sompa		
Atypical		monlogos	mamomogos	litobong	hagbong
		libongan	*ibo*bongan	llayan	*cao*ayan

Progressing to the nasal class we collate first the palatal **ng.** In the following vocables it is common to the two languages:

anding	gabang	guingcod	lopong	panga	sopingi
bangitao	gangay	libongan	mopong	pongong	tobang
bencong	gatbang	linga	ngisi	porong	torong
bogguiong	gongog	litobong	osisang	sansang	tungdong

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type **ng–n.**		logong	logon	lotang	lothan
		pong*on*	*i*pon	posong	*tagi*posóon
Type **n–ng.**					
atandanan	catongdanan	palon	palong	sinbaan	singbahan
bencong	bingcong	sansang	sangsang	taron	tadong
lonsod	longsod				
Type **ng–t.**		bingcon	botcon	laang	lacat
Type **ng–d.**		porang	bolad		
Type **ng–g.**		marongot	maligotogoton	pongong	pogong
Type **ng** vanished.		atodanan	catongdanan	guicoran	lingcodan
		buta	botang		
Atypical:					
guilos	iring	talinga	dalonggan	tonggab	tongab
impit	hingpit	tondong	tongod		

The lingual nasal **n** affords us a far briefer record of variability as between the two languages, for it is not necessary to repeat in this position the **n–ng** variety since it has already been listed. The list of vocables in which this nasal is common is here given:

anding	donaan	gonom	guinom	maranaya	ponopoton
arunaan	donot	gonos	guinonosola	masin	poporenion
atandanan	doon	gontó	inog	meaon	poraigon
atodanan	gaan	goyon	laraban	mogonao	puonan
bingcon	gantoson	guicoran	libongan	nano	sindil
bolaan	gasintos	guien	llayan	niguan	tioan
bondyag	gina	guilan	logalin	panas	tocsocan
bone	gonagona	guinaoá	loon	peen	tolisan
daan	gonas	guindog	magalin	ponicol	ulihan
deni	gonlo	guinocsip			

There are really so few instances of variation that they may properly be grouped in a single table; only the first and second show any relation one to another.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
donot	nonot	nano	cano	niguan	ligoan
lonao	lodhao	donlag	damlag	monlogos	mamomogos

The labial nasal **m** is appreciably less in use than the others of this class. Its community in the two languages is as follows:

amo	gamó	gomot	lamo	marongot	ocom
dagom	gampo	gonom	linagami	meaon	pogliquimo
dalinduman	gaom	guinom	luma	monlogos	timod
gama	gomog	itom			

In the following series the presence of **m** in Subanu and absence in Visayan is not to be treated as phonetic; it is rather the presence of the **ma** prefix of condition:

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
magalin	balhin	maranaya	hanayhay	molió	balico
maimo	himo	matugas	tiga	momoc	homoc
maloot	lolot	mogonao	bognao	morala	oala

In two instances Subanu maintains an initial **m** lacking to the Visayan; in the latter case we shall have occasion to observe that this is a stem letter:

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
maa	oo	masin	asin

In the following group of instances the presence of the **m** in one or other of the languages suggests its employment for some not well-comprehended reason as a preface to the mute of its proper series:

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
impit	hingpit	sombag	tobag	tolisan	tampalasan
lompoc	tapoc	sopla	sompa		
Atypical.		donlag	damlag	mopong	topong
		mita	quita	tamisac	pisac

The aspiration is very scantily employed by the Subanu. In the vocabulary will be found but three instances in which it appears as an

initial, *hilamon, huopongon, hatud* which is given as a variant of *atud.* There are no instances of community of use.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type **an–han.**					
arunaan	arunahan	gina	inahán	sinbaan	singbahan
gama	amahán	meaon	mayahon	ulihan	oalihan
gapó	apohan				
Type **h** initial.					
aoid	haoid	inog	hinog	ondoc	hadloc
atud	hatod	*li*nes	hilis	*poqui*cot	hocot
*guin*aoá	*guin*haoa	*mai*mo	himo	ulatay	holat
impit	hingpit	ocom	hocom		
Type **g–h** initial.					
gaclop	haclop	gonas	honás	guinonsola	hinolsol
gangay	hangay	gongog	hongog	*pogli*quimo	*pa*ghimo
gare	hari	goot	hacot	quipos	hipos
gonagona	honahona	gosay	hosay		
Type **h** medial.					
baa	baha	gai*tan*	gahit	puonan	pohónan
biag	bihag	gaom	gahóm	saa	saha
boi	bohi	lood	lohod	sool	sahol
booc	bohoc	lua	luha	taap	tahap
doon	dahon	peen	baihon	taod	tahod
dua	doha				

We next segregate a puzzling group in which the Visayan employs aspiration where it is not present in Subanu and apparently combines it with other consonants. Where we have the forms **gh, dh, th** we might be tempted to class them as spirants if it were not for the fact that we have similar combinations with liquids and nasals where that explanation would be impossible. It seems more reasonable to account for this aspiration as initial to the syllable following the consonant.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
magalin	balhin	deni	dinhi	lonao	lodhao
bangitao	balanghitao	poporenion	paanhion	lotang	lothan
bone	binhi	loon	daghan	potao	pothao
Atypical:					
baga	pagcahobag	log	lihoc	momoc	homoc
gayo	cahoy	lolat	holat	panas	hilánat
litobong	hagbong	maranaya	hanayhay	tocsocan	tohogan

The sibilant **s** in the two languages is remarkably free from modification. The vocables which show community of use are the following:

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
casit	saquit	lines	hilis	sicol	sicad
gantoson	antos	lonsod	longsod	sinbaan	singbahan
gasintos	asintos	lugbas	lapos	soay	asaoa
gasoy	asoy	masin	asin	socog	cosog
gocsip	sipsip	monlogos	mamomogos	soggó	sodoc
goguis	ogis	ocsop	sopsop	sogod	sooc
goles	balás	osisang	cosisang	solog	solod
gonas	honás	pasagdan	pasagad	solot	solod
gonos	onos	posong	tagiposóon	sool	sahol
gosay	hosay	quipos	hipos	sopla	sompa
gosig	osig	saa	saha	sora	isda
gosod	sogot	saac	socna	tamisac	pisac
guinocsip	sinapsap	sacog	sacop	tobos	tapos
guinonsola	hinolsol	sansang	sangsang	tolisan	tampalasan
guisip	isip	sayoron	sayod		

The most frequent mutation of the sibilant in the greater number of languages is to the aspiration; therefore it is noteworthy that we find but one trace in the Visayan-Subanu, namely *tocsocan-tohogan*.

The instances in which **s** is present in one language and absent in the other number five.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
doque	sontoc	puli	balos	sopingi	aping
matugas	tiga	sindil	indig		
Atypical:					
guilos	iring	panas	hilánat	sapulu	napólo
liga	siga	panga	sanga	sombag	tobag
ngisi	ngipon				

The first and most casual inspection of the vocabulary makes manifest mutation variety in the mutes so great and seemingly so intricate that it will be necessary to subject these ultimate consonants to a more minute classification in subdivision than the earlier consonants have called for. Following the natural evolutionary order we shall first consider the palatal mutes and in this pair the surd will first engage our attention. It will be well to order the instances in accordance with their position as initial, medial, and final.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type **k** (**c, qu**) initial common.					
caya	caná	*gui*coran	*ling*codan	casit	saquit
cotooto	cotócotó	*guing*cod	*ling*cod		
Type **k** initial (Subanu).					
cogool	olol	*po*quicot	hocot	quipos	hipos
*pogli*quimo	*pag*himo				
Type **k** initial (Visayan).					
amo	camo	atandanan	catongdanan	osisang	cosisang
anding	canding	atodanan	catongdanan		
Type **k** initial atypical.					
lamo	camo	mita	quita	nano	cano
Type **k** medial common.					
bencong	bingcong	ocdoc	docdoc	sacog	sacop
bingcon	botcon	ocom	hocom	sicol	sicad
gaclop	haclop	ponicol	panicad	socog	cosog
gaco	aco				
Type **k–g** medial.		tocsocan	tohogan		
Type **k** medial (Subanu).		boclag	bólag	ocsop	sopsop
Type **k** medial (Visayan).					
bolaan	bolacan	laang	lacat	molió	balico
bui	boquid	lee	lalaqui	tioan	potiocan
goot	hacot	loop	locop		
Type **g** final common.					
bocbaac	baqui	logoc	looc	ondoc	hadloc
booc	bohóc	lompoc	tapoc	saac	soc*na*
doque	sontoc	momoc	homoc	tamisac	pisac
Type **k–g** final.	atoc	tag*na*	tauac	taoag	
Type **k–d**.	*lole*toec	toadtoad	(dao	caoat)	
Type **g** initial common.					
gaitan	gahit	gontó	gontó	guien	guini
gaom	gahóm	gosod	sogot	guinaoá	guinhaoa
gonlo	onglo				
Type **g–k** initial.					
gaan	cáon	gomog	camot	guilat	quilat
gamó	camó	gomot	camot	guilid	quilid
gayo	cahoy				

(Continued from p. 84.)

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type g–h initial.					
gaclop	haclop	gonagona	honahona	goot	hacot
gangay	hangay	gonas	honás	gosay	hosay
gare	hari	gongog	hongog	guinonsola	hinolsol
Type g initial (Subanu).					
gabo	abo	gasoy	asoy	gopao	opao
gaco	aco	gatop	atop	gosig	osig
gagda	agda	gina	inahán	goyon	oyon
galad	alad	goguis	ogis	guibid	ibid
gama	amahán	golitao	olitao	guibog	ibog
gampo	ampo	golo	olo	guilan	ila
gantoson	antos	gonom	onóm	guilos	iring
gangay	angay	gonos	onos	guinom	inom
gapó	apohan	gooay	ooay	guisip	isip
gapog	apog	gopa	opa	guito	ido
gasintos	asintos				
Type g medial common.					
dagom	tagom	logong	logon	niguan	ligoan
lagoy	laguio	matugas	tiga	pasagdan	pasagad
liga	siga	mogonao	bognao	poraigon	padayigon
linagami	dagami	monlogos	mamomogos		
Type g–k medial.		lagi	lalaqui	logud	licod
Type g medial (Subanu).					
logalin	lain	lugbas	lapos	sogod	sooc
logoc	looc	magalin	balhin		
Type g medial (Visayan).		loon	daghan		
Type g final common.					
baga	pagcahobag	bondyag	bonyag	inog	hinog
biag	bihag	daig	dayig	sombag	tobag
boclag	bólag	donlag	damlag		
Type g–k final.		dipag	taboc	log	lihoc
Type g final (Subanu).				bolig	bala
Type g–d final.		solog	solod	timod	tigom (timog)
Atypical:					
bogguiong	bodyong	gocsip	sipsip	guingcod	lingcod
goles	balás	goles	balás	litobong	hagbong
gomot	domot	guicoran	lingcodan	sacog	sacop
good	dool	guindog	tindog	sindil	indig
gabang	tabang	guinocsip	sinapsap	soggó	sodoc
gatbang	tobang				

Of the lingual mutes the surd **t** displays very slight mutability. We shall first list the common instances arrayed according to position.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type t common initial.					
*a*tandanan	*ca*tongdanan	taron	tadong	tolisan	tampalasan
*a*toc	tagna	tauac	taoay	tom	*i*tom
*a*todanan	*ca*tongdanan	tee	tai	tondo	todlo
*ga*tbang	tobang	timod	tigom	tondong	tongod
*lole*toec	toadtoad	tioan	*po*tiocan	tonggab	tongab
*ma*tugas	tiga	tobang	*a*tobang	torong	tadong
taap	tahap	tobos	tapos	tungdong	tongod
taod	tahod	tocsocan	tohogan		
Type t medial common.					
atud	hatod	gantoson	antos	lotang	lothan
bangitao	balanghitao	gasintos	asintos	marongot	maligotogoton
binutong	ibotang	gatop	atop	mita	quita
buta	botang	golitao	olitaoo	ponopoton	panápton
cotooto	cotócotó	gotó	gontó	potao	pothao
Type t final common.					
casit	saquit	goot	hacot	lolat	holat
gaitan	gahit	guilat	quilat	maloot	lolot
gomot	camot	impit	hingpit	poquicot	hocot
gomot	domot	laat	daot	ulatay	holat

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type lingual mutation.					
lompoc	tapoc	sombag	tobag	solot	solod
lopong	topong	guito	ido	talinga	dalonggan
panas	hilánat				
Type linguo–palatal mutation.					
bingcon	botcon	gabang	tabang	guindog	tindog
laang	lacat	gomog	camot		
Type linguo-labial mutation.		mopong	topong		

In an interesting and probably important contrast the lingual surd mute **d** is far less constant, a difference which comparison with the immediately foregoing tabulation will show to the glance.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type **d** initial common.					
daan	dalan	deni	dinhi	doon	dona
daig	dayig	donlag	damlag	dua	doha
dalinduman	domdom	doon	dahon	ocdoc	docdoc
Type **d** medial common.					
anding	canding	gagda	agda	ondoc	hadloc
atandanan	catongdanan	guindog	tindog	sindil	indig
atodanan	catongdanan	ondao	adlao	tondo	todlo
Type **d** final common.					
aoid	haoid	guilid	quilid	lood	lohod
atod	hatud	guingcod	lingcod	pasagd*an*	pasagad
galad	alad	logud	licod	taod	tahod
guibid	ibid	lonsod	longsod		
Type linguo-palatal mutation.					
porang	bolad	good	dool	dao	caoat
balidya	baligya	soggó	sodoc	*lole*toec	toadtoad
bogguiong	bodyong	solog	solod	sogod	sooc
gomot	domot	timod	tigom (timog)		
Type lingual mutation.					
dula	loa	poraigon	padayigon	lonao	lodhao
guilos	iding	porong	podong	dagom	tagom
laat	daot	sayoron	sayod	dipag	taboc
loon	daghan	sora	isda	donaan	toton
ponicol	panicad	taron	tadong	doque	*son*toc
gare	hadi	torong	tadong	gosod	sogot
laraban	ladaoan	donot	nonót	solot	solod
Atypical.					
bondyag	bonyag	dala	oala	tungdong	tongod
bui	boquid	tondong	tongod		

Last of all we reach the labial mutes, the strongest expression of the consonant modulation power of this organ. The surd **p** is almost positive, so very scanty are its variants.

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type **p** common.					
gaclop	haclop	loop	locop	poporenion	paanhion
gampo	ampo	lopong	topong	poraigon	padayigon
gapó	apohan	mopong	topong	porong	podong
gapog	apog	ocsop	sopsop	posong	tagiposóon
gatop	atop	pasagdan	pasagad	potao	pothao
gocsip	sipsip	palon	palong	puonan	pohónan
gopa	opa	pogliquimo	paghimo	quipos	hipos
gopao	opao	ponicol	panicad	sapulu	napólo
guinocsip	sinapsap	ponopoton	panápton	sopingi	aping
guisip	isip	pongon	ipon	sopla	sompa
impit	hingpit	pongong	pogong	taap	tahap
lompoc	tapoc				

(Continued from p. 86.)

Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.	Subanu.	Visayan.
Type p–b.					
dipag	taboc	porang	bolad	puli	balos
peen	baihon				
Atypical.					
panas	hilánat	sacog	sacop	tamisac	pisac
panga	sanga				
Type b common.					
baa	baha	bocbaac	baqui	gabo	abo
baga	pagcahobag	boclag	bólag	gatbang	tobang
balidya	baligya	bogguiong	bodyong	guibid	ibid
bangitao	balanghitao	boi	bohi	guibog	ibog
bencong	bingcong	bolaan	bolácan	libongan	ibobongan
biag	bihag	bolig	bala	litobong	hagbong
bila	abian	bone	binhi	sinbaan	singbahan
binal	baol	booc	bohóc	sombag	tobag
binutong	ibotang	buta	botang	tobang	atobang
bingcon	botcon	gabang	tabang	tonggab	tongab
Type b–p.					
bolao	paolao	lugbas	lapos	tobos	tapos

From our comparison of Subanu and Visayan we shall properly omit the many instances in the foregoing tabulation where community of consonants is manifest, for these instances lack critical value. In the residue of differences we are struck at once by the fact that practically every difference is double; that as soon as we have established it as subsisting between Subanu and Visayan we discover its converse existence as between Visayan and Subanu. This is typically instanced in the second table on page 81 in the case of the vanished l: Subanu *bila* is Visayan *abian;* on the other hand we are estopped from the belief that Visayan drops an l present in Subanu, for we find immediately Subanu *daan* and Visayan *dalan* in a case where we have positive knowledge that the l pertains to the stem. This tells a tale. No such interplay of differences can hold between a parent and a daughter speech, but it can hold between languages descending from a common parent.

We shall find more to the same point in the examination of what may readily be designated speech biology. These languages are of the agglutinative type, a stage in advance of the isolating class, yet still in the development stages of consonant acquisition. We see that the greatest fixity of the consonants holds in the mutes, the most forceful expression of consonant possibility; and within the class of the mutes we observe that fluctuation is most noted in the sonants, essentially a less precise result of the positioning of the speech organs than the surds of the same series. The maximum variety (equally the maximum range of variation), lies in the region where are formed the semivowels, the nasals, the aspiration, and the sibilant. These are all sounds produced by the less forceful exercise of consonant-forming power; therefore, where the differences in position of the appropriate closures is but slight, it is natural for men to whom precise speech is not yet an art fully acquired, or even needed, to fall far short of precision in sound formation.

The examination of the variety by reference to the speech-organs employed points in the same direction. The least variously utilized organ is the lips: only two closures have been taken into speech use, the minimum and the maximum; here we find almost no variety in the comparison of Subanu and Visayan. The palate, the speech-organ which first came under control, is the least flexible of the speech-organs and is commonly established in the primitive languages in but two closures, the minimum and the maximum. Here again, although the variety is somewhat greater than in the labials, it amounts to little in the sum.

But when we give our attention to the lingual series we are filled with amazement at the amount and extent of the mutation-variety. Its mutes are fixed; that is to say, the speakers of these languages are able to attain the maximum of the speech effort to which the tongue lends itself; beyond that maximum it is in essence impossible to go; therefore the mutes must be a fixed quality. Earlier in this chapter I have pointed out the character of force in speech: how that initials and finals are more forcible, and that weaker forms supervene when either is brought within the interior of the word. Those of us who have had much intercourse with the inferior races of mankind have recognized in the declamation of their speech this quality of word force. We employ it ourselves in speaking to children and foreigners and other unfortunates not fully in possession of their wits; we aim to speak distinctly in order to make comprehension sure. The primitive races are all children together, and we need go no further than the next school-yard at recess time to appreciate the dynamic force with which children converse among themselves.

Omitting, then, the lingual mutes as under the dominance of another set of influences, we find that in Subanu and Visayan the tongue is a most uncertain member. It is within the power of these speakers to put the tongue in all but one of its standard closures, yet the positioning is so insecure that we have seen in the tabulation (pages 85 and 86) that any closure may and does slip in to any other closure of the same organ. More than that, we find that the duty of the tongue is not infrequently delivered over to the palate to perform, a return from the imperfectly mastered organ to one whose control is more sure and whose use is directed by longer familiarity of habit.

Thus far we have considered Subanu and Visayan together, as in some as yet undetermined relation of filiation. The phonetic variety will not lead us directly to the determination of the nature of this filiation, for the mutation is by no means in a single direction. We are not able to assume, for example, that the Visayan is the source speech and that Subanu diverges therefrom by dialectic variety exhibited in a certain array of mutation instances; for in fact we find that for every mutation in one direction between Visayan and Subanu there is its converse in the other direction between Subanu and Visayan.

Yet we are not without data which may be applied toward the solution of the problem. The formative elements tell a tale of importance. In general we observe that the Visayan employs all the composition members which are in Subanu use. From the dictionary of Fray Juan Félix we find that the Visayan has in use a considerable number of such members which the Subanu lacks. This is particularly to be noticed in the matter of the infixes, those puzzling yet very convenient marks of a word-treatment which is just beginning to reach out toward inflectional value. From this we begin to form the impression that the Subanu represents an earlier phase of a common speech; that it has not undergone the development which accession of higher culture has induced among the Visayans.

The geography of the culture site of the Subanu leads us in the same direction. On the ethnographic chart in Father Algué's "Atlas de Filipinas" the Visayans are indicated as occupying a somewhat compact area in the mid Philippines. Their settlements are principally found on Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Leyte, Sámar. North of this center the islands of Panay, Masbate, Tablas, Romblón, and Sibuyán show more or less extended occupation by this stock. Toward the south they are found in settlement at spots upon the north coast of Mindanao, on the east shore of the Bay of Iligan, on its west shore as far as Dapitan, on the northeast coast from Surigao to Lianga, and upon the outlying islands of Dinagat and Siargao. This plot shows distinctly the movement of the Visayans in their advance upon the archipelago, for it is indisputable that they are a Malayan race both linguistically and ethnologically.

From the tip of Borneo two well-marked lines lie before the coastwise seamen of the *prahu*. The northern line leads from the north shore of Borneo by Balbac, Paragua, and Busuanga direct to Mindoro, with not a trace of Visayans along the line. The southern line of approach, after leaving the south coast of Borneo, leads by Tawitawi, Joló, Basilan, and Zamboanga directly to the abodes of the Subanu and to the center of Visayan life and settlement spread over the area from Negros to Sámar. The position in which the Subanu lie relative to this broad avenue of Visayan migration indicates for them an early association with the main body of migrants. Having taken possession of this region north of Zamboanga, they withdrew to the interior of the country for the usual protection of weak peoples by evasion. Thus they lost touch with the greater members of their race; they remained undeveloped in their inland seclusion and now present an earlier type, perhaps the earliest type of the race which with greater freedom of development under better settlement conditions has marched forward to such progress as now marks the Visayan culture.

By combination of all these considerations we reach the conclusion that the Subanu are of the Visayan race, that their language represents an early phase of the Visayan, and that future investigation may bring

to light the fact that its vocabulary preserves many vocables which in the general Visayan are but rarely encountered.

It is wide of the purpose of this work to point out in the vocabulary the Malay affiliates. We do not need them for proof that the language is Malayan, and it would do no more than duplicate work already familiar. The only exception which I have made is in the case of a few vocables for which I have noted affiliations in several languages in the Celebes waters. These were collated in Dr. Elbert's *Sunda Expedition*, while the study of Subanu was in progress, and are therefore quite new and undoubtedly welcome additions to the stock of Malay comparative material.

There remain for our consideration a double-handful of examples of a mutation which is certainly anomalous, for it does not fall within the ordinarily established categories of phonetic variability. Absolutely these examples are few, yet it is clear from their repetition for so many as are here shown that they represent a speech principle. Therefore they are worthy of our examination in order that we may discover the principle which is operative. So far, when it has been necessary to refer to any of these vocables in passing, I have classed them as inversion; now we shall see of what nature they really are.

For readier vision, let us first see what would be the result if the principle were a part of our own speech equipment, since it is much easier to study it when applied to vocables more familiar than any which may be drawn from the distant Subanu. From the Latin *ruga* we derive the adjective *rugose;* if this principle were at work in our linguistics we should have *gurose* or *urgose;* from the German *beten* we should have *tebe* or *edbe* in place of *bede* as in bederoll. These illustrations in familiar material, so far as they have true applicability to the matter, will show us that there are two possible forms; that there is an interchange of consonants between the second and first syllables; that the syllable itself is inverted and its initial consonant is made final. In our Subanu material we must discover which of these takes place.

Omitting here all consideration of the usual phonetic variation which may or may not affect the form of the compared vocables, we present the examples in similar groups:

Subanu	casit	gosod	socog
Visayan	saquit	sogot	cosog

In these the change has affected the initial syllable; we find the same number of instances in which it has been applied to the final syllable.

Subanu	timod	tondong	tungdong
Visayan	tigom	tongod	tongod

So far as relates to the former group, we might conclude that the process was an interchange of the initial consonants of the former and the latter syllables, regarding the initial syllable in each case as open, that is, consisting of consonant and vowel. In the second group we should have, in continuation of the theory that the interchange is between one syllable and another, to regard each syllable as closed and that the movement applied to final consonants. This is by no means satisfactory; it involves a complication which is foreign to language of so elemental a type.

Our next group of three will afford us a better view of the process.

Subanu	gonlo	luma	sora
Visayan	onglo	odma	isda

Here we have no difficulty in seeing that the syllabification is *gon-lo, lu-ma, so-ra.* This makes clear what has happened, the initial syllable has been inverted without any doubt in *luma* and *sora, lu-ma–ul-ma–od-ma, so-ra–os-ra–is-da.* In the first group of three we find the same syllable inversion in all three cases; *gos-od–sog-od–sog-ot.* In the second group it holds; *ti-mod–ti-dom–ti-gom.*

There remain now three apparent anomalies, *gonlo, tondong, tung-dong.* Instead of *nog-lo* we find *ong-lo;* instead of *ton-ngod ton-god;* instead of *tung-ngod ton-god.* Since all involve the palatal nasal we may safely conclude that the same principle of inversion of syllables is operative, but that the result is subjected to perturbation produced by some attractive quality in the palatal nasal, a closure which we have established as among the first of the consonant possibilities to be developed.

Our material affords us a group of four vocables, in which at first sight there appears to exist a different type of inversion, the interchange of consonants concurrently brought together. They are these:

Subanu	ondao	ondoc	sopla	tondo
Visayan	adlao	hadloc	sompa	todlo

As these have arisen for consideration in the foregoing text I have indicated a more satisfactory explanation, that when for any reason a liquid is assumed by the stem the preface of the series nasal is dropped by the stem mute; or, that when a stem liquid is dropped the mute is prefaced by way of compensation. Just which of these two statements is the proper view must await the determination of the true stem in these words and that can be accomplished only by following them through their various occurrences in Indonesia.

The Bontoc Igorot affords us three instances of inversion which may properly be adduced for comparison.

Subanu	gosa	lipay	niug
Bontoc	ogsa	paley	inyog

These are confirmatory of the deductions which have been drawn from the Subanu material; in the first and third of these inverts there can be no doubt whatever that the initial syllable is inverted as a unit, in the second invert we shall find justification in regarding the inversion as of the same type.

This theory of inversion as dealing with syllable units comports with our broader comprehension of languages so primitive as are these of agglutination. While the word-stem is frequently dissyllabic we must regard it as compact of monosyllabic roots. In the languages of isolation the two roots which enter the stem are capable of independent existence and most commonly are found free in the same speech. In agglutination the secondary root has in most cases ceased its free existence and in the process of such disuse has undergone more or less of form-change, so that it has become merely a composition member. The principal root remains susceptible of necessary modification as a speech unit. I may note the occurrence of this type of inversion, though infrequent, in the isolating languages of Melanesia.

It was not within my original plans for the scope of this work that the collation of the Subanu affiliation should extend beyond the immediately circumjacent Visayan. It was easy to recognize that in the many languages of the Philippines many interesting discoveries might be made and that more extended study must be fruitful in valuable results. After due consideration I determined to relinquish this study to those whose concern is more specifically directed to Philippine linguistics and to those masters of Malay philology who may be expected to deal with the new material which has been given me to arrange and to order for their examination. It will be understood that my particular object has been to sift this Subanu for such data as might be found to bear upon my own specific study of the early phases of the Polynesian speech. With that I am quite content.

But it chanced that while these pages were being put into type my attention was somewhat fortuitously directed to Dr. Seidenadel's study of the language of the Bontoc Igorot. Immediately I recognized a marked similarity in parts of the vocabularies of the two races. They are widely separated; almost the whole length of the archipelago lies between the Igorot of Bontoc in the northern tip of Luzon and the Subanu of the southern extremity of Mindanao. Despite the distance which parts them they have one condition in common: each is interiorly situated with reference to a Malayan people of more advanced culture and richer development; the Subanu an inclusion within the Visayan area, the Bontoc Igorot within the Tagalog region of predominance.

Despite linguistic differences, this condition is readily comprehensible in our acquaintance with the Philippines. The Aetas and others of the true negritos represent the survivors of a primitive autochtho-

nous people who were feebly in possession of the islands at the time of the coming of the first wave of Malay migration. Unfit to make a successful stand against the better-equipped invaders these almost pygmy people withdrew to the mountains where they could preserve in uninterrupted simplicity their rude life but little advanced above the plane of social animals. In the same manner the earliest Malayan settlers were dealt with by later swarms of their own race; before the better fighters they, too, withdrew from the coasts and found a refuge in the seclusion of the mountains. This we may readily comprehend in the case of the Subanu shyly retreating before their Visayan kinsmen. I think that further study will establish this as fact in the case of the Bontoc Igorot, that they are in some sense poor and primitive relations of the Tagals who have established themselves as the dominant race of the northern area of the Philippines.

At the present time there is marked difference between the Tagals of the north and the Visayans of the south. This difference is nowhere more marked than in speech; mutually incomprehensible they would not be identified as of the same stock save upon philological investigation. This diversity of settlement is an affair of somewhat modern times; at least it has been formed in the last wave of migration which established the settlement of the Philippines as we now see it. It is not in the least necessary to postulate the same diversity for the earlier migration wave out of western Malaysia, it is quite possible that the first settlers were far more homogeneous. Therefore it need cause us no surprise should we discover a relation between Subanu and Bontoc Igorot of the earlier migration which may imply community of origin.

In the collation of Seidenadel's vocabulary of the Bontoc Igorot I have succeeded in identifying 90 affiliates which may be recognized in the Subanu with no great difficulty. A very considerable number of these affiliates lie within the element common to Malayan and Polynesian; therefore they add their confirmation to the conclusions which I base upon the similar element of the Subanu. These affiliates I shall list in tables based upon the several phonetic elements involved in order to facilitate our topical consideration of the material.

The liquid l is practically common to Subanu and Bontoc Igorot as shown in this table:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
dalan	djalan	lima	lima	salamin	salming
dila	djila	linao	alinoao	salapi	salapi
galad	alad	lipay	paley	sapulu	polo
golo	olo	lua	lua	sulat	suladak
goloan	olaoan	lusung	luson	sulu	sillu
gulungan	kolong	palad	talad	tolo	tolo
laga	lago	palay	palay	tolod	itoludko
lagi	lalaki	pilak	bilak	tongalang	alang
laneg	lanib	pili	pili	walu	walo
lasag	kalasay				

The only instances of l-mutation are these:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
bulan	buan	lanao	tjanaom	ngalan	ngadan
sapulu	po'o	ngalan	ngatjan	gare	ali

The loss of **l** is found within the Subanu, as, for instance, the alternative forms *dalan* and *daan*. The interchange of **r–l** in *gare–ali* is so slight and so familiar as to attract no attention. The mutation **l–d** and the slight variant **l–tj** is mutation in series, therefore readily to be comprehended, it is passage from the weaker effort of lingual closure to the most forceful effort in **l–d** or stopping in **l–tj** just short of that limit.

The palatal nasal **ng** is found for the most part unchanged; the only instances of variety are **ng–n** in *lusung–luson* and the dropping of the sound in *posong–poso*. The instances where this consonant remains unaltered are the following:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
gulungan	kolong	payung	payong	sopingi	iping
ngalan	ngadan	saguing	saking	tongalang	alang
panga	panga	sising	singsing		

The lingual nasal **n** exhibits a minimum of mutation. The stems in which it appears unchanged in the two languages afford us this table:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
bulan	buan.	lanao	tjanaom	niug	niyog
cana	kanek	laneg	lanib	ngalan	ngadan
goloan	olaoan	linao	alinoao	pono	punek
gonom	inim	manoc	monok	sigupan	songyopan
ina	ina	masin	asin	sinbaan	simfan
inom	inumek	minsan	mamingsan	toon	taaowin

The recessive inter-organic mutation from lingual to palatal, **n–ng**, is found in the three instances *cana–mangan, minsan–mamingsan, salamin–salming*; the progressive mutation **ng–n** has been noted in a single instance. The progressive inter-organic mutation from lingual to labial, **n–m**, is found in the single instance of *sinbaan–simfan*; this is readily explicable by attraction to the labial tract in the effort to produce the surd spirant **f** in an intermediate lip closure not yet fully in the habit of the speech. We note such attraction in the Subanu itself.

Quite as we should expect from our acquaintance with languages of this type, the labial nasal **m** exhibits no mutation phases in this material; the occurrences of its community are noted in the following table:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
gama	ama	manoc	monok	salamin	salming
gonom	inim	mata	mata	siam	siam
inom	inumek	minsan	mamingsan	sombag	samfad
lima	lima				

We note two instances which suggest the abrasion of **m**–initial, *masin–asin, matay–idoy*. Each will receive more full discussion in the next chapter; in the latter case it is clear that we are not concerned with frontal abrasion, but that the Bontoc stem is a primitive while the Subanu has arrived at secondary development by the application of the **ma** prefix of condition.

The examination of the palatal mutes shows us a considerable play of mutation of the sonant **g**. Numerically the largest group consists of the instances in which an initial **g** exists in Subanu and is absent from the Bontoc, as set forth in this table:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
galad	alad	gatai	atoy	gooay	wue
gama	ama	gatop	atep	gugat	uad
gapid	apik	golo	olo	gutek	utek
gapoy	apuy	goloan	olaoan	gwasay	wasay
gare	ali	gonom	inim		

The question of the **g**–initial is discussed in the study of the Subanu phonetic and need not be taken up here. The single instance in which this assumption or dropping of **g** affects the letter in other than the initial position is to be seen in *gugat–uad*. We have four instances in which the **g** is common to the two languages: *geeg–alogoog, laga–lago, niug–niyog, gosa–ogsa*. The very simple mutation from sonant to surd, **g–k**, appears well established in the following instances:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
baga	poko	goyamet	komaot	lagi	lalaki
balin–gawa	kaaowa	gulungan	kolong	saguing	saking
gayo	kayao				

Recessive mutation, that is upward in the series and from forceful toward weaker expression, occurs twice in the type **g–ng**: *boligan–faolengan, sigupan–songyopan*. We may be justified in the interpretation of *lasag–kalasay* as a recessive mutation yet further continued past the nasal as the first of the true consonants and clear over to the semivowel proximate to the speech organ involved in **g**; this explanation, which at this point can be no more than tentative, will need additional data for its determination. We find the more violent mutation out of series, palatal to lingual in two instances, *gabo–tjapo* and *sombag–sumfad*; and palatal even to labial in *laneg–lanib*.

The surd palatal mute **k** undergoes little mutation, quite as we should expect after observing with what frequency the sonant comes to rest upon it; the community is observed in these instances:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
bocbaac	fakfak	gutek	utek	patik	fatek
booc	fook	kanuku	koko	pilak	bilak
cana	makan	manoc	monok		

In a single case, *cana–mangan*, we have recessive mutation from mute to nasal. In three cases we find a **k** in Bontoc which is absent in Subanu; *basa–fasaek*, *siyu–siko*, *tao–takao*.

Passing now to the linguals we find no more than one instance of a mutation affecting the sibilant. This occurs in *sopingi–iping*, and we are unable to determine if it is a Subanu assumption or a Bontoc abrasion, except in so far as the Visayan *aping* is indicative. The instances where **s** is common are set forth in this table:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
basa	fasaek	posong	poso	sigupan	songyopan
buis	fuys	pusu	baosig	sinbaan	simfan
gwasay	wasay	sa	isa	sising	singsing
lasag	kalasay	saguing	saking	siyu	siko
lusung	luson	salamin	salming	sombag	sumfad
masin	asin	salapi	salapi	sulat	suladak
minsan	mamingsan	sawa	asawa	sulu	sillu
gosa	ogsa	siam	siam		

We find the sonant lingual mute **d** unaltered in four instances: *di–adi*, *galad–alad*, *palad–talad*, *tolod–itoludko*. In three vocables we encounter the slight recessive mutation **d–tj**; *dalan–tjalan*, *dila–tjila*, and **d–dj** in *dua–djua*, as to which we note that each is initial. In *gapid–apik* we meet a mutation out of series, from lingual backward to palatal; it is suggestive of the kappation of modern Polynesian.

The surd lingual mute **t** remains commonly without mutation, as shown in this table:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
bato	bato	mata	mata	tao	takao
gatai	atoy	pat	ipat	tee	tae
gatop	atep	patik	fatek	tolo	tolo
goyamet	komaot	pito	pito	toon	taaowin
gutek	utek				

The mutation from surd to sonant, **t–d**, occurs in three stems; *gugat–uad*, *matay–idoy*, *sulat–suladak*.

In the course of these studies based upon extended research in the phonetics of primitive speech I have sufficiently established the fact that when the lips are brought into use **m**, almost unalterable, is the weakest type of expression and **b–p** the most forceful. While **m** is fixed, positive, an unchanging modulant, we find in these languages the greatest play of variety in the consonants which depend for their formation upon the positioning of the lips.

The sonant labial mute **b** scarcely exists in the Bontoc; even that name is uniformly spelled Fontoc by Dr. Seidenadel; it appears in no more than two vocables, *bato–bato* and *bulan–buan*, and for the latter we find the alternative *fuan*. In two instances we find mutation from sonant to surd, **b–p**; *baga–poko*, *gabo–tjapo*. In all other cases the

sonant mute passes to the surd spirant, **b–f**, in a class of consonant which the Subanu lacks.

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
baboy	fafuy	boligan	faolengan	bulan	fuan
basa	fasaek	booc	fook	sinbaan	simfan
boaya	fuaya	buis	fuys	sombag	sumfad
bocbaac	fakfak				

The mutations of the surd labial mute **p** are very infrequent. Two vocables afford us the **p–b** mutation from surd to sonant; *pilak–bilak*, *pusu–baosig*. In the single instance of *patik–fatek* the mutation is yet one step more in recession, from surd mute to surd spirant. There is but a single case of mutation *extra seriem*, backward from lips to tongue, **p–t**, in *palad–talad*. The instances where **p** is common to the two languages are listed in this table:

Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.	Subanu.	Bontoc.
gapid	apik	pat	ipat	posong	poso
gapoy	apuy	payung	payong	salapi	salapi
gatop	atep	pili	pili	sapulu	polo
lipay	paley	pito	pito	sigupan	songyopan
palay	palay	pono	punek	sopingi	iping
panga	panga				

I have presented this material in the form of the adjustment of the Bontoc Igorot upon the Subanu base, and for the reason that in this work the Subanu is the norm from which we measure divergence in cognate languages. To prevent the chance of error which might naturally arise in this manner of presentation it will be necessary to employ a few words in the explanation of the true fact in the case. It is not to be understood that the Bontoc mutation is any sort of a divergence from a Subanu standard or the Subanu a variation upon the Bontoc base, and the cases in which the two languages agree upon the employment of a common consonant are not at all indicative that we have established in such concord a primeval stem of any given vocable. There is a *tertium quid* to which each language must be referred independently. Mutation variety as between Subanu and Bontoc may be divergent variation from a primeval type, or one of the languages may preserve the primal type and the other exhibit mutation therefrom. When Subanu and Bontoc are in accord it may be that they are also in accord with this third member of the problem; it may be equally the case that they accord in variation from that third member.

The *tertium quid* is the stock speech from which Subanu and Bontoc have derived this common element amounting to 90 items. It is a possibility that the Bontoc Igorot and the Subanu are widely sundered remnants of a common migration wave of closely related folk. This would be difficult to establish in view of the wide diversity of the

vocabularies in all but this community of 90 vocables, still more difficult in view of the essentially different method of grammatical treatment. It is far more reasonable to consider that this community of vocables is the residuum of the draft made independently by Subanu and Bontoc, at some remote period of time and in some remote distributing point of migration, upon the common stock of archetypal Malayan speech. That the source language of this community was already in possession of archetypal Polynesian elements is made clear by the further and most important fact that in this community of 90 vocables preserved at the far north of Luzon and at the far south of Mindanao, separated by ten degrees of latitude, no less than 55 are identifiable as in Polynesian possession at the present day. Much of this Subanu-Bontoc community in the possession of the common element of Malayan and Polynesian is identifiable with the Proto-Samoan and not with the Tongafiti migration of the Polynesians into the Pacific.

What bearing this may have upon the problem of the great equatorial archipelago I leave contentedly to the students of Malayan linguistics. Its bearing upon my own theme of Polynesian speech is clear. In the advance of the first Malayu migrants upon the primal Polynesians settled in the Java seas there was a mixing period during which the Malayan language was enriched by the assumption of Polynesian vocables, evidence of which admixture survives in some 250 vocables which we identify as common to the two language families. Furthermore in this mixing period the interchange of speech material was almost wholly one-sided, assumption by the Malay from the Polynesian. This is established by the fact that there is not a single item in this community for which a Malayan source may be exclusively proved, and in but one doubtful case (*tinae*) is there a single suggestion that a secondary Malayan form is discoverable in the Polynesian. This mixing period was succeeded by an accession of new Malayan strength as new hordes poured in upon the archipelago. In this more violent stage the Polynesian ancestors began their first flight into the safety of the empty Pacific, the earliest Malays either fled to yet more remote islands, a movement in which we believe the Subanu in one flight and the Bontoc in another to have participated; or else they remained at the spots of their first settlement and welcomed their kinsmen, thereby carrying over to the later comers more or less of the new vocabulary stock which they had acquired and thus securing its very uneven distribution throughout Malaysia as now within our study.

CHAPTER IV.

POLYNESIAN AND MALAYAN.

We are now brought to that division of the theme whose particular interest I freely confess was most largely operative in inducing me to accept the not inconsiderable task of preparing this Subanu material for publication. Indeed it is a great pleasure to be intimately associated with the introduction to scientific philology of a speech hitherto unrecorded, to array its vocables and the machinery of their sense-differentiation in such order as to facilitate the work of other students. It has been a rare delight and I would not seem to suggest anything which might in any way belittle the importance of such work. Yet I recognized in this employment the opportunity to make a fresh approach upon the problem of the Malayo-Polynesian as a speech family; upon this base of absolutely new material to recompute the particular element upon which that family has been erected; from the Malayan side, as already I have done from the Polynesian side, to seek to render the family into its units.

I consider that the unquestioning acceptance of this Malayo-Polynesian family has operated to prevent inquiry into the most promising source of linguistic knowledge. I believe the Malayo-Polynesian family to rest upon wholly false grounds. I know there is not, there can not be, a family of speech which shall include the Malayan with the Polynesian.

Therefore I shall assemble the data which the Subanu and its kindred Visayan provide and shall let them prove these contentions. No material could be better for the purpose, for it is acknowledged by all authorities upon the Indonesian that the Philippine Malay preserves the most pure and uncontaminated type of the speech which holds throughout the Malay Sea.

> In the whole of the vast Malayo-Polynesian domain, extending from Madagascar to the Sandwich Islands in one direction, and in another to New Zealand, passing by the Sunda Islands, a common speech reigns, of which the groups and subgroups not only belong to the same class, but possess the elements of the same vocabulary.

Thus André Lefèvre, at the beginning of the fourth chapter of his "Race and Language," and at the end of the chapter:

> The Malay family of languages is one of the simplest and most convenient of the agglutinative idioms, as it is the most extensive and the most clearly defined; it constitutes a perfectly independent group, or at least its relationship to any other has not been discovered.

Upon what authority does the professor of anthropology at Paris issue these statements so positively and without qualification? Let us look at similar pronouncements by an even greater master of systematic philology:

> On the islands, however, which lie off the southeastern part of the continent of Asia, and through most of the groups and isolated islets that dot the Pacific, north to Formosa, east to Easter Island, south to New Zealand, and west even to Madagascar on the very border of Africa, are found the scattered members of a vast and perfectly well-developed family, the Malay-Polynesian.

Thus William Dwight Whitney at page 241 of "The Life and Growth of Language," and he continues:

> The Malay-Polynesian languages are more simple in regard to their phonetic structure than any others in the world; hardly any of them have more than ten consonants, many only seven; and they do not allow a syllable to begin with more than one consonant or to close with a consonant.

In the preceding chapter, when discussing the Subanu syllabification, I have convicted Whitney of error in the last item.

Whence did Professor Whitney derive the information which enabled him to speak in such positive terms about the Malayo-Polynesian family? I yield to none in my reverence for the great authority of this profound master of the Sanskrit, and in addition I have an affectionate sentiment toward the preceptor who set my feet upon these ways. But what was the source of his information upon Malayan, Polynesian, and Malayo-Polynesian?

Lefèvre writes as one dealing with facts of common notoriety which require the citation of no authority. More precisely Whitney refers to Friedrich Müller. His opinion is in the same form. I cite from page 271 of "Reise der österreichischen Fregatte Novara um die Erde: linguistischer Theil:"

> In einer Zeit, welche jenseits aller Geschichte liegt, zog die helle malayo-polynesische Race vom Westen her, wahrscheinlich dem südlichen Theile des asiatischen Festlandes gegen Osten, und liess sich auf den Küsten der Inseln nieder. Am ersten scheinen die Malayen auf den südlich gelegenen grössern Inseln, wie Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, aufgetreten zu sein, wo sie sich niederliessen und die dort vorgefundene schwarze Bevölkerung theils vertilgten, theils sich assimilirten. Von da breiteten sie sich gegen Norden über die Philippinen, Marianen und die anderen angrenzenden Inseln aus, und gingen selbst nach Formosa, hart an der Küste Chinas hinüber. Andererseits setzten sie auf ihren leichten, hurtigen Prahu's über den grossen Ocean, und siedelten sich auf den unbewohnten zahllosen Koralleninseln an, die in Gruppen hie und da aus der unübersehbaren Wasserwüste hervorragen. Auch die Doppelinsel Neu-Seeland, die Krone unter den Inseln der Südsee, wurde von den kühnen Wanderern in Besitz genommen, und wie es scheint, nach manchen Kämpfen mit den wilden Raubthieren und Riesenvögeln bevölkert.

Here we are coming closer to information at first hand, for Dr. Müller had seen the Polynesians and the Indonesians with such super-

ficiality of observation as comes to scientific voyagers whose stay at any one spot is necessarily brief. How superficial his knowledge is the last sentence exhibits, for it is a fact of zoology that New Zealand lacked beasts of prey, and it is more than doubtful if the moa persisted until the period of the Polynesian settlement of the islands; certainly there is no warrant for the assumption of the dinornis as a combative fowl. Despite his personal experiences on the cruise of the *Novara*, Müller derives his authority for the Malayo-Polynesian family from Franz Bopp.

At last we have gone upstream to the source. The Malayo-Polynesian family was erected by Bopp, "Ueber die Verwandschaft der malayisch-polynesischen Sprachen mit den indisch-europäischen," published in 1841.

No one may deny Franz Bopp the credit of establishing the science of comparative philology; he first brought into order the study of the interlacing languages of mankind, established the greater groups, and pointed out the method whereby the study of speech could be made effective. All the authorities whom we have cited in the introductory pages of this chapter have been satisfied to rest upon the dicta of their leader; to not one has it seemed proper to subject to further examination the data which he had used. It is the compelling force of a great name deadening research.

Now it is proper to attempt to resurrect the data which were available for Bopp in 1841. It is well to bear in mind that he was fresh from his triumph in elucidating the relationship of the various Indian, Persian, and European languages which now we commonly designate the Aryan group. He had established a Semitic family, which later information has considerably modified. He had given Africa the Hamitic family in a speech arrangement which is now completely disregarded. Carried away by the zeal of completing his system, of assorting all the languages of mankind into families, he created this Malayo-Polynesian family. We have the right to examine the material upon which he based this classification.

First and foremost in his study was the great work of Wilhelm von Humboldt on Java, "Ueber die Kawi-Sprache," which was published in 1838. I can find no slightest evidence that Bopp went beyond the material which Humboldt had amassed in this great work. Accordingly the authority for the family which Bopp created must lie in the work of his predecessor.

Let it be understood that there is here no suggestion that Humboldt is anything but our best authority upon the Kawi speech in Java. His study of that ancient language is both brilliant and profound, his discussion in pursuit of his theme when it carries him to the modern Javanese, both in its Basakrama and its Basangoko types, leaves nothing to be desired. But when he goes further afield and brings in comparative

material we are entitled to estimate the value of that material. I can do nothing better than to quote from Edward Tregear upon this very point (Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary, page XIII):

> In this very voluminous work Humboldt examines the vocabularies and grammatical construction of the Oceanic languages and considers that the Tagal of the Philippines is the leading dialect. His vocabularies, however, were of a very imperfect character, and his deductions would have been considerably modified had he possessed the information at present at our service, his Maori being the Maori of Lee and Kendall (1820) and his Tongan, if possible, still more defective and illusory.

I have been at pains to discover what linguistic information as to the languages of Polynesia was available to Humboldt and therefore through him gave Bopp the data for the creation of this family. A very few word-lists were buried in the narratives of the great explorers; even if we assume that Humboldt had access to them all the material was in very imperfect condition and by no means trustworthy. Tregear has characterized the "New Zealand Grammar and Dictionary" of Lee and Kendall. The Tongan vocabulary was that of Mariner's "Tonga Islands," published in 1818 and filled with errors which at the present day are impossible of resolution. The work of Davies on the language of Tahiti had been published in 1823, but its present value is that of a curiosity. In 1837 Chamisso had published his brief and inaccurate vocabulary of the Hawaiian, but it does not appear that it affected Humboldt's work. In these few items we have the sum of the data, both scanty and untrustworthy, on which rests the Malayo-Polynesian family of speech.

I arraign this family (experience has proved it a deadening collocation), upon the following grounds:

1. That the evidence upon which it is sought to support it is incompetent, immaterial, and irrelevant.

2. That a family of languages can not be constituted of members belonging to radically distinct orders of speech, and that in this case the Malayan is an agglutinative speech and the Polynesian isolating.

3. That the use of infixes, characteristic of all the Malayan languages and necessary to their use in speech, is wholly unknown to any of the Polynesians.

4. That the Polynesian is essentially a language of open type in its present stage and that a consistent effort has been operative to excise final consonants in stems where inferentially they existed in a remote past; that the Malayan languages admit closed syllables and that in very many instances there has been an assumption of consonants in order to close syllables originally open.

5. That the fixed element of the Polynesian lies in its vowel structure; that the vowels of the Malayan are most uncertain, and that the permanent elements are in the consonant skeleton.

From the beginning there has been some opposition to Bopp's Malayo-Polynesian family. John Crawfurd, a profound student of the Malay, was the first to raise his voice in opposition and was treated with a most undeserved contempt for his really great powers; in Fornander's words "he was treated as an ethnologic heretic." The only successful opposition directed upon Bopp dealt with quite another division of his Malayo-Polynesian theory, that in which he sought to associate this family with the Sanskrit, a position no longer held by philologists. The only modern author who has recurred to this position is Judge Fornander, who sought to establish the relation of the Polynesians with the Aryan folk; yet even in so doing Fornander is sedulous to set himself against his predecessor's association of Malay and Polynesian. The same stand of opposition is held by authors so widely at variance upon other points of Polynesian study as Alphonse de Quatrefages, A. H. Keane, Lesson, and Alfred Russel Wallace. Despite this very respectable opposition, our systematic philologists cling to Bopp's impossible family.

Now what has produced this error? Some cause there must have been of sufficient strength to prove operative upon Franz Bopp and Wilhelm von Humboldt to lead them into this position. Of their followers we need say nothing now save that they have one and all followed their leaders, that not one of them has sought the original material in confirmation of the doctrine which they have blindly accepted.

There is a reason, and on its face and so far as it goes a very good one. In every Malayan language there is a certain number of words which either on immediate inspection or after very slight dissection are found to be in use in many, if not in most, of the languages of Polynesia. For myself I am willing to go one step more, to acknowledge that the words common to the Malayan and the Polynesian occur also in several languages of Melanesia. Probably had Humboldt known of this fact (in the complete absence of vocabulary material it was hidden from him) Bopp would have included this third member in his family, just as in the present time Dr. MacDonald has tried to do in his Oceanic family.

We have followed one another in accepting the results of collation of this common material. Most of it will be found conveniently accessible in Mr. Tregear's dictionary. Now I have had the opportunity to collate anew, and on fresh material, a Malayan language of the purest type and to extract the words in which I can see or detect community with languages of Polynesia. These words, with all the comparable material at my disposal, are here set down in order for individual examination, that we may be fully prepared to enter upon the exhaustive study of the nature and source of this community. In ordering this material I have shown, in the caption of each item, the Proto-Samoan stem and the Subanu form, or in default of the discovery of of this stem in the Subanu I have established the comparison upon the

Visayan form. In the former group are tabulated the various dialectic forms in Polynesian with a statement of their provenience; in the latter group are the Malayan forms so ordered as most conveniently to exhibit their alterations from the more simple to the highly complex type of variety. It has not appeared advisable herein to exhibit the mutations of Polynesian stems as found in Melanesia; that problem is quite distinct from that with which we are here engaged. For the convenience of such as care to examine this theme I have appended, wherever I have collated this material, a reference to the page of *The Polynesian Wanderings* where such data have been discussed. I have, however, included this third and intervening element in the discussion of every such vocable as was not included in the scope of the former work.

1. **afi** fire: Subanu **gapoy** id.

afi	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Niuē, Aniwa, Sikaiana.
ahi	Tahiti, Mangareva, Marquesas, Rapanui, Hawaii.
ai	Rarotonga.
afi	Bima, Ceram.
efi	Muna, Matabello.
afo	Malagasy.
ngafi	Guam.
quafi	Chamorro.
goifi	Guam.
aif	Gah.
yaf	Ahtiago, Teor.
ai	Siwa, Brissi.
hai	Vaiqueno, Rotti.
hahi	Timor.
api	Malay, Kolon, Tomohon, Solor, Battak, Bugis.
hapi	Java.
yap	Mysol.
apoi	Silong, Champa, Formosa, Matu.
apui	Kayan, Madura, Dayak, Tagalog, Ilocano, Sideia, Bontoc Igorot.
wha	Bouton.
pepi	Macassar.
puro	Bolanghitam.

The last of these forms is highly problematical; it is here included for the completion of the record, but it has no suggestion of association with *afi* save through the presence of **p**, which occurs so commonly in the secondary Malayan stem. The Macassar *pepi* is in slightly better case, for we may regard the prosthetic **p** as due to attraction of the stem consonant, a precisely similar instance being the prosthetic **h** in *hahi*. Bouton *wha*, if associable with this stem, is a mutilated fragment. Three forms, *aif*, *yaf*, and *yap*, exhibit different phases of inversion, a structural method which we have already discovered in the discussion of the Subanu. The remaining forms fall into accord through the operation of well-established laws of mutation. These mutations are triple in their incidence. The stem consonant **f** varies in one direction to **h**, in the other to **p**, even undergoes extinction, variations of frequent occurrence in the phonetics of these languages. Prosthesis operates through four agents, **h**, **ng**, **g**, **k**; these, it will be observed, run the whole scale of palatal consonants. The final vowel undergoes a modification to what may prove a diphthong, a mutation which we shall observe again in the study of this material (cf. 4); a change such as this is wholly foreign to the spirit of the Polynesian languages, where the vowels are of the stoutest constancy, but we note with interest the occurrence of the converse in Niuē, where we encounter several instances in which **ae** of the stem, essentially not diphthongal, becomes **e**. In

the Malayan cognates **i** becomes **ui** and **oi**, and in the vowel uncertainty of these languages, the two forms are different alphabetically rather than in reality. It will be seen from an examination of the maps that this variant occurs almost distinctly in the eastern and older half of the Malayan province, where also prosthesis occurs.

Subanu *gapoy* exhibits the maximum of mutation away from the primal stem, prosthesis in the same sense as in Guam, mutation of the consonant from spirant to mute, alteration of the final vowel.

2. **hangi** to blow: Visayan **hangin** the wind. P. W. 317.

angi	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Nukuoro, Maori, Mangareva, Moriori.	**angi**	Bima.
dhangi	Viti.	**ange**	Kisa.
ani	Hawaii, Marquesas.	**angin**	Malay.
		angina	Malagasy.
hangin	Java, Tagalog, Magindano, Bicol.	**anging**	Macassar, Bugis.
		kanging	Bali.

I am not indisposed to regard the Proto-Samoan stem as *hangin*, basing this upon the Samoan form in the objective aspect *angina* and the Viti *dhangina*, as to which Hazlewood notes "an irregular passive." On this assumption the Malayan *hangin*, all in the eastern half of the province except Java, is a constant. We have learned to interpret the **dh** of the Viti phonetic as the attempt, an effort which through force overleaps its aim, to render the aspiration proximate to the lingual series, this aspiration having become extinct in all other Polynesian. In this reading of the early stem we look upon *hangin* as a preservation of the original in Indonesia, and the Bima and Kisa forms as having undergone the same modification as is the case in the present phase of the Polynesian. The other mutations entail no difficulty, mutation from **n** to **ng** in the final consonant in three instances, and of initial **h** to **k** in Bali. This may be an accretion of the palatal mute after the loss of the aspiration, that is to say *kanging* may be a secondary development upon *anging;* on the other hand I have established for the triple aspiration a portative value whereby mutation *extra seriem* may be brought about, and this mutation from lingual aspiration to palatal mute is conceivable as effected by the tendency to revert to the palatal, further exhibited in the **n–ng** mutation. The primal type is best preserved in the eastern or Philippine subprovince.

3. **aku** I; Visayan **acó** I.

a'u	Samoa.	**aku**	Sulu, Malay.
au	Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Niuē, Rarotonga, Rapanui, Tahiti, Marquesas, Mangareva, Hawaii.	**akui**	Kayan.
		aho	Malagasy.
		yahu	Kisa.

From a multiplicity of terms employed in Indonesia for the first personal pronoun, many of them mere forms of courtesy, these have been selected as clearly belonging to the Polynesian stem. There are no difficulties of mutation, for **k–h** is but a halfway post on the line toward the extinction of **k** in modern Polynesian. The accretion of a

final vowel in Kayan is counterbalanced by frontal accretion of the semivowel of the same type in Kisa.

4. **ate** the liver; Subanu **gatai** id. P. W. 320.

ate	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Fotuna, Nuguria, Maori, Tahiti, Rapanui, Marquesas, Mangareva, Rarotonga.	**ate**	Pampangas.
ake	Hawaii.	**ati**	Malay, Java, Magindano.
yate	Viti.	**atai**	Matu.
		atay	Visayan, Tagalog.
		ādŏy	Bontoc Igorot.
		hut	Ternati.
		akin	Kisa.

Here we meet with no matters of particular interest so far as relates to form. The original stem is retained unchanged, for the vowel difference is negligible, in two languages of the eastern and two of the western subprovince. The assumption of an initial aspiration in Ternati is not unusual, the accretion of final **n** in Kisa is frequent, the **t–k** mutation in the same speech foreshadows the great movement in that direction which has swept over the Polynesian area with a force not yet spent. The sense variety in the application of this stem is most attractive. In the great majority of instances its reference is to the liver, but it has been applied not only to other inner organs but to parts of the body exterior to the trunk cavity. Thus we find it with a modifier used of the spleen in Samoan *atepili*. Without modifier it is used of the spleen (Efaté), of the gall bladder (Wedau), of the lungs (Rapanui), of the chest in general (Solomon Islands and perhaps Mota), of the heart (Java). What is the common factor which will admit of such diverse applicability? The heart as known to these amateurs of the insides of their foes is a hard body, the lungs soft to the touch. This distinction is so well comprehended that in many of these languages one word does duty for the heart of man and the stone of fruits. The name of the lungs is the word which in adjective use means light, exactly paralleled by our use of the word lights, an expression by a still further oddity now most familiar to us in Quilp's adjuration, "Oh, my lights and liver!" Between these extremes the other organs which carry this name are variously graded in density. It is quite clear, then, that density is not the point in this nomenclature. Another common factor is that of shape: every one of these organs appears to the sight as nodular, an agglomeration distinct from the softer organs among which they are exposed to view in the crude processes of anatomy to which the trunk is subjected by hungry savages. This sense is probably the germ sense of *ate*, for we find it in the Samoan *atevae* and *atelima* used of the bunches of muscle in leg and arm respectively when contracted.

5. **asu** smoke; Visayan **asó** id. P. W. 286.

asu	Samoa, Nukuoro.	**afu**	Futuna.
aasu	Rotumā.	**u**	Hawaii.
osu	Rotumā.		
ahu	Tonga, Niuē, Uvea.	**as–ap**	Malay.
ohu	Nuguria.	**aso**	Tagalog.
au	Maori, Nuguria, Tahiti, Mangareva, Marquesas, Rapanui, Rarotonga.	**ashŏk**	Bontoc Igorot.
		etu–na	Malagasy.

For such determinant value in the matter of speech history as it may be found to possess, we should give particular note to the Indonesian affiliates. The Visayan not only represents the original stem of the word, but also is capable of carrying the signification without need of an auxiliary; in these two particulars, form and strength of definition, it corresponds with the languages of Nuclear Polynesia. On the other hand the Malay retains the consonant of the original stem, but its signification is so weakened that to *as* (smoke) "vapor" it has been necessary to adjoin *ap* (from *api*, cf. item 1) "fire." In the history of the word, *asu* from smoke has come to signify any visible vapor and therefore has to be strengthened to convey the smoke signification as "fire-vapor;" this course of devolution and auxiliation reappears in the languages of southeastern and generally distal Polynesia, accompanied by a weakening of the stem by loss of its central consonant. We thus find eastern Malaysia in accord with western Polynesia upon the older form and the strong sense; western Malaysia and eastern Polynesia upon the weak signification. The collocation is significant. Eastern Malaysia, particularly the Philippines, preserves the older type of Malayan speech; western Polynesia, the region of Nuclear Polynesia (which, on philological grounds, I have erected into a province), represents the earlier or Proto-Samoan migration into the Pacific. In distal Polynesia we find the stronger influence of the latter or Tongafiti migration, a junior type of the speech; it is not without moment that we find this in association with the western and later phase of the Malayan. So far as we are at liberty to interpret this in terms of folk movement, we read that the first Malayan comers into the Indonesian archipelago were in contact with the Proto-Samoan ancestors of the Polynesians; that the later Malayans advanced from the Asiatic continent along the Malacca highway and dislodged their kinsmen in an easterly direction in order to make their own settlements in Sumatra and Java, and that these newcomers were in contact with the ancestors of the Tongafiti Polynesians of the junior migration.

6. **alimango** a crab; Visayan **alimango** a crab with large claws.

The word is evidently composite, but in neither language is it possible to resolve it into comprehensible elements. In my study of the Samoan it has suggested itself to me that it might be formed of three elements, *a-lima-ngo*. Of these *a* plays a part in word formation which I recognize dimly, but which I have not yet been able to reduce to full comprehension; it seems to be a sign by which a descriptive vocable (adjectival in sense) is set apart into noun use. In the appearance of the Samoan crustacean which bears this name the claws are prominent, and in the Visayan definition their size is incorporated within the definition; therefore the word *lima*, as hand or arm, might properly be segregated in the composite. The final element *ngo* should then be an

attributive in adjective sense descriptive of some appearance of the claws of this crab; the only meaning which might seem applicable is derivable from Mangarevan *ngongo* "a conical hole," with which we may associate Hawaiian *no* "a hole." The Samoan *alimango* is the Portunid Lupea; we are by no means sure to what extent the dotted and pockmarked appearance of this crab would warrant the designation "pitted claw" when the marking is carried over the whole carapace, but we are no more than at the beginning of our understanding of selectivity of definitive characters as authorizing name-creation by these beginners of speech.

7. apunga–**leveleve** spider; Visayan **laoálaoá** id. P. W. 361.

apunga–**leveleve**	Samoa.
ka–leveleve	Tonga, Futuna, Niuē.
hala–neveneve	Nukuoro.
buta–lawalawa	Viti.
ka–velevele	Uvea.
punga–verevere	Mangareva, Paumotu, Mangaia.
punga–werewere	Maori.
pua–verevere	Tahiti.
puna–welewele	Hawaii.
puna–vevee	Marquesas.
lawalawa	Malay.
káaowa	Bontoc Igorot.

The primal sense appears to be that of the web, but the passage to the webster is not difficult, therefore we find the word indifferently applied to the spider. Our three Indonesian terminals being found in agreement upon the form which characterizes Nuclear Polynesia, we may argue that the concordant inversion which marks the Tongafiti use is of later development than the exit of the Proto-Samoans from the Malayan archipelago.

8. **alelo** tongue; Subanu **dila** id.

alelo	Samoa, Futuna, Niuē, Fakaofo, Manahiki, Hawaii.
arero	Maori, Tahiti, Paumotu, Mangaia, Rapanui.
warero	Moriori.
aledo	Sikaiana.
alel	Rotumā.
aeo	Marquesas.
elelo	Tonga, Hawaii.
erero	Mangareva.
lelo	Hawaii.
eo	Marquesas.
rera	Bima.
rilah	Ratahan.
lila	Sanguir, Bugis.
lela	Malagasy.
lilah	Bouton, Salayer, Menado.
ledah	Malay.
lidah	Kayan, Basakrama.
ilat	Java.
dila	Bolanghitam, Sulu, Tagalog, Ilocano, Pampangas, Visayan.
delah	Baju.
djīla	Bontoc Igorot.

In the Polynesian we have no difficulty in picking out the stem *lelo*, nude in Hawaiian and Marquesan, elsewhere prefaced by the formative **a,** concerning which I have already made sufficient note in item 6. The presence of the simple stem in Hawaii and the Marquesan is not of critical value, inasmuch as each has the augmented stem as well. In general we note that this augment has been acquired since contact with the Indonesians ceased. In the Indonesian languages the final vowel has passed from **o** to **a,** a mutation of no moment in the vowel uncertainty of that area. We find, then, the first five items sufficiently representative of the *lelo* stem. The remaining forms fall into two groups according as the initial or the medial liquid undergoes mutation

to the mute of its own series. The western group, Malay and Java, applies the mutation to the inner liquid exactly as in Sikaiana. The eastern group, geographically the Philippines and linguistically the earlier phase of the Malayan, applies the mutation to the initial liquid. As to this, I have in the foregoing chapter mentioned the effect of stress in pronunciation.

9. **hala** road; Subanu **dalan** id.

hala	Tonga, Niuē.	**saleh**	Malay.
hara	Nuguria.	**jalan**	Malay, Silong.
sala	Viti, Rotumā.	**dalan**	Java, Ilocano, Visayan.
ala	Samoa, Futuna, Uvea, Hawaii, Nukuoro.	**djālan**	Bontoc Igorot.
ara	Maori, Tahiti, Mangaia, Rapanui, Mangareva.	**daan**	Visayan.
eara	Paumotu.	**alah**	Malay.
aa	Marquesas.	**aleha**	Malagasy.

In those parts of Nuclear Polynesia less exposed to the influence of the Tongafiti supersession upon the older community of Proto-Samoans, we find the effort made to preserve the stem aspirate, and in Viti its passage to the sibilant. The vowel prefix in Paumotu may represent the same effort to preserve the stem initial, for the Paumotu speech is in some interesting particulars of the oldest type of Polynesian. In the Indonesian affiliates we find most strongly marked the mutation results from this original aspirate. Viti shows us that it was the aspiration proximate to the linguals, for the **h–s** mutation is clearly indicative. So in the Indonesian, all the mutation takes place in the lingual series, to the sibilant, the spirant, and the mute respectively. The three Malay forms, *jalan*, *saleh*, *alah*, form a descending series within that language sufficient to render it unnecessary for us to associate the *alah* with the Tongafiti migration, since the Polynesian itself does not divide in migration streams upon this point.

10. **hake** up; Visayan **saca** to go up.

hake	Tonga, Niuē, Uvea.	**a'e**	Samoa.
dhake	Viti.	**ae**	Tahiti, Hawaii.
ake	Futuna, Uvea, Aniwa, Marquesas, Mangareva, Paumotu, Bukabuka.	**daki**	Malay.

From the next preceding item we continue the note upon the lingual aspiration and the mutation to **d**. The **h–s** mutation in Visayan is not in accord with the stronger **h–d** mutation just seen.

11. **fafa** to carry on the back; Subanu **baba** to carry by land.

fafa	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē.	**baba**	Subanu.
vava	Viti.		

The sense in Polynesian is particular after the habit of those languages; the Subanu sense is more broadly stated, yet that need not militate against the identification, for the phonetic accord is quite satisfactory. It will be observed that the word is distinctively Proto-Samoan.

12. **fafine** woman; Visayan **babayé** id. P. W. 337.

fine	Tonga, Uvea, Aniwa, Fotuna.
hine	Maori, Rapanui.
ahine	Nukuoro, Mangareva, Rapanui.
hoina	Rotumā (metathetic upon **ohina**)
aine	Mangareva.
fafine	Samoa, Tonga, Fakaofo, Futuna, Uvea, Sikaiana, Efaté, Moiki.
fafini	Liueniua.
fefine	Tonga, Nukuoro.
fifine	Niuē.
vahine	Tahiti, Manahiki, Marquesas, Paumotu.
wahine	Maori, Hawaii.
oahine	Tongarewa.
vehine	Marquesas.
vaine	Rarotonga, Tubuai, Bukabuka.
veine	Mangareva.
mafine	Samoa.
mahine	Tahiti.
mohine	Paumotu, Mangareva.
tafine	Aniwa.
tahine	Nuguria.
fineh	Massaratty.
fina	Sulu.
vina	Ahtiago.
winih	Java.
maho–weni	Sanguir.
pin	Mysot, Waigiou.
bin	Waigiou.
bini	Malay.
bina	Ceram.
binei	Gah.
benaing	Silong.
babineh	Salibabo.
pipina	Saparua.
pepina	Ceram.
bahini	Madura.
bawine	Bouton.
baini	Salayer
banie	Macassar.
mahina	Liang, Morella, Lariko, Awaiya, Caimarian, Ceram.
mewina	Teor.
mainai	Batumerah.
mapin	Gani.
umbinei	Cajeli.
ihina	Teluti.
gefineh	Wayapo.
libun	Subanu.
babai	Ilocano.
fāfāyi	Bontoc Igorot,
vavy	Malagasy.

Appropriately *varium et* in a high degree *semper mutabile* such sense as may subsist in this vocable struggles forth into the most complicated expression. The Polynesian discloses to us a primal stem *fine* existing independently and in addition qualified by the formative elements *a*, *fa*, *ma*, *ta* prefixed. Interpreting *fine* as a diffuse attributive carrying the signification of femininity, we have shown (items 6 and 8) that the use of *a* exhibits in *afine* a specification of noun use. In its proper place in this series we shall find that the *ma* prefix is of practically the same value, that *mafine* particularizes the person who is characterized by the possession of the quality which *fine* expresses. So with *tafine*, which does not appreciably differ in signification; we do not regard *ta* as a mutation product of *ma*, against which militates the difference in series, but we do find in it a parallel and independent mechanism for the expression of this differentiation, in which connection note the parallelism of Subanu *mopong* and Visayan *topong* in the vocabulary. In the Malay archipelago we find the remnant of the primal stem of more frequent occurrence than in Polynesia and within that province widely distributed. The *fafine* type in Malaysia is so closely interassociated that we may distinguish it as a Celebes type, therefore central in respect of the province. The *mafine* type is similarly interassociated east of the Celebes form; we may delimit it as a Ceram type. While Subanu *libun* is widely apart from all types, we must recognize in its *bun* some association with the stem *fine*. At the end we find a small group very difficult of inclusion in this *fine* series; *babai* of Ilocano and Visayan *babayé* are closely associated, and with them must be joined Malagasy

vavy. In the utter absence of *n* we may not be positive in associating these forms with *fine;* yet it is possible that they may be anomalous devolution products from the Celebes *fafine* type, and this possibility is made more probable by the occurrence of *făfāyi* in the Igorot. It has seemed to me that *fa* of *fafine* may be associable with the next ensuing item, for we find in *fa* and *faka* a sense of resemblance in addition to the more frequent causative employment.

13. **fa, faka,** formative; Subanu **po, poc, poco** id. P. W. 270.

faka	Futuna, Tonga, Paumotu, Uvea, Rotumā.
fak	Rotumā.
vaka	Viti.
whaka	Maori.
haka	Marquesas, Paumotu, Nukuoro, Tongarewa, Rapanui.
hanga	Rapanui, Paumotu.
hoko	Moriori.
aka	Rarotonga, Mangareva, Bukabuka.
anga	Mangareva.
fa'a	Samoa.
faa	Tonga, Uvea, Tahiti.
haa	Tonga, Nukuoro, Tahiti, Marquesas, Hawaii.
hoo	Hawaii.
paga	Visayan.
pag	Tagalog, Bicol, Visayan.
poco	Subanu.
pog	Subanu.
poc	Subanu.
maka	Sulu.
mak	Sulu.
mag	Tagalog, Bicol.
fa	Samoa, Uvea, Paumotu.
va	Viti.
wha	Maori.
ha	Tonga, Rapanui, Marquesas, Hawaii.
ho	Hawaii.
a	Rotumā, Rapanui, Paumotu, Tahiti.
pa	Visayan, Bontoc Igorot.
po	Subanu.

Mr. Tregear has frequently called upon me to suggest some explanation for the *hoko* and *ho* forms of this most largely utilized of all the composition members in Polynesian. While I do not incline to regard the vowel mutability here in the Philippines as of much diagnostic value, I think that our Subanu will answer his query, which up to this discovery has wanted a satisfactory reply. It will be noted that the Subanu is a secluded speech within the area of the Malayan archetype; the Moriori is an equally remote and ancient form of the Polynesian; and the Hawaiian *ho*, without this knowledge of its source, I have already employed in proof of the early settlement of those islands by Proto-Samoans long before the era of the Tongafiti migrations. Prebendary Codrington writes upon this formative prefix (*Melanesian Languages*, page 184):

> The causative is almost universally *va*, alone or with a second syllable *ka, ga*. The form *va, fa, pa* undoubtedly appears to be the original particle, to which *ka, ga, ha* has been attached. This may perhaps be the verbal particle *ka, ga*, which is used in several languages.

I am by no means convinced of the justice of this determination. The Polynesian exhibits a complete devolution system *faka–fak–fa*, and in the Philippines we now see similar systems, *paga–pag–pa* and *poco–poc–po*. In the biological study of the upbuilding of the Polynesian I shall give due weight to Codrington's suggestion, but merely as a matter of the etymology of the languages in their present phase it is quite clear that we pass by abrasion from *paga* to *pag*, from *poco* to *poc*.

Whether *po* is abraded from *poc*, and equally *fa* from *faka*, is a matter with which we need not here concern ourselves. It remains that we have the two forms *faka* and *fa* in substantially the same sense, but *faka* is far the more commonly in use.

14. **fale** house; Subanu **balay** id.

fale	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Niuē, Fakaofo.
fare	Aniwa, Sikaiana, Manahiki, Tahiti, Paumotu.
vale	Liueniua, Viti.
hale	Hawaii.
hare	Rapanui, Mangareva, Tongarewa.
whare	Maori.
are	Rarotonga.
fae	Marquesas.
hae	Marquesas.
bale	Pampangas.
bali	Sanguir.
balay	Visayan, Subanu.
bal-ry	Menado (? *balay*)
wale	Magindano.
bareh	Salibabo.
bore	Bolanghitam.
bahay	Tagalog.
fāöy	Bontoc Igorot.

It will be observed that all these affiliations are found in the Celebes and Philippine subprovinces; in western Indonesia this stem has gone into disuse under the sweep of the stem *ruma*, which seems to have been in Proto-Samoan possession all the way through the Melanesian traverse, but has dropped out, except for its retention in Maori in a particular sense.

15. **fana** to shoot; Subanu **pana** a bow.

fana	Samoa, Tonga, Niuē, Futuna, Uvea, Paumotu, Tahiti, Moiki, Tikopia, Aniwa.
fan	Rotumā.
vana	Viti.
vavana	Sikaiana.
pana	Marquesas.
whana	Maori.
fana	Bima, Tiruray, Kolon.
fana-yana	Malagasy.
faan	Salawati.
fean	Mysot.
fan	Waigiou.
fun	Teor.
aan	Mysot.
bana	Sikka.
um-bana	Simbo.
banah	Ceram, Ahtiago, Tobo.
pana	Madura, Macassar, Sikka, Manggarai, Bareë, Gorontalo, Bunda, To-Bungku, Tobelo, Magindano, Tagalog, Subanu, Visayan.
panah	Malay, Karo, Java, Sunda, Bali, Dayak, Salayer, Sumbawa, Sanguir, Cajeli, Ambon, Magindano, Baju.
o-pana	Bouton.
tum-panir	Alfuro.
papana	Sumba.
am-panah	Timor.
panat	Massaratty.
pala	Gorontalo.
pâppe	Bugis.

The phonetic variety is here of the simplest type and nothing need detain us upon this score except to observe the interesting, yet at present isolated, fact that the most frequent Indonesian type *pana* is found intrusively in the Marquesas at the eastern verge of Polynesian migration. The whole vexing subject of the use of the bow and arrow in the two island areas is entertainingly and exhaustively discussed by Captain Georg Friederici, at page 119 of his recent work "Neu-Guinea." But if the phonetic curves are particularly smooth, the case is apparently different when we come to examine the range of sense. I have not detailed this in the individual identifications of affiliates; it is quite enough to mention here that the signification ranges along three items, to shoot, the bow, the arrow. This affords an excellent opportunity,

all the more because of the absence of phonetic complication in the series, to direct attention upon the sense-character of the vocables of these primordial languages. We are far below the categories of the parts of speech familiar to us in the languages of richer development. There are but three parts of primitive speech; the demonstrative, expressive of individualities of place and time, and out of the place designation grows the person designation; the paradeictic, an operative class expressive of the fact that a relation exists in the sense of two vocables with which it is employed, the nature of the relation being as yet undistinguished; the attributive, the great mass of the vocabulary, the name of an object or an action or a state. It is from the attributives that selection is to erect into separate categories the noun and the adjective, the verb and the adverb; at the stage of development at which we find these languages of Indonesia and of Polynesia this function diversity is just beginning to call for discrimination. The verb and the noun have not yet come into independent being. The sense of the attributive is diffuse, unconditioned, absolute. In the case of *fana* we shall find no great difficulty in comprehending this inchoate phase of speech. The diffuse sense is that *fana* is the name of an act of archery; it may therefore express any one of the details which we find it necessary to express in three distinct forms; it does express sufficiently any one of them, inasmuch as to the minds of the users of these languages it expresses them all in one unconditioned statement. Thus it amply expresses the verbal sense which we particularize by reason of conditions which exist in our own more highly specialized mentality and which we have drilled our speech to express; it means "to shoot" without regard of mood or tense or person or number or any other of the precisions of our speech. Equally it means that which shoots, "the bow." Equally it means that which is shot, "the arrow." And when I say equally, I mean simultaneously as well; *fana* in itself carries without distinction the three ideas which we find it necessary to differentiate by "shoot," by "shooter," by "shot," differencing these three items by the employment of simple stem, of stem with inflection, of stem with ablaut. In the stage of intellectual development to which the Samoans have advanced and the need of particularity has been reached, these three ideas have been set apart as follows: "to shoot" *fana;* "the bow" *'au-fana* or stick-shoot; "the arrow" *u–fana* or reed-shoot.

16. **fanua** land; Subanu **bonoa** field. P. W. 341.

fanua Samoa, Aniwa, Fotuna.
hanua Rotumā.
vanua Viti.
fenua Futuna, Uvea, Sikaiana, Moiki, Fakaofo, Marquesas, Tahiti.
henua Nuguria, Marquesas, Rapanui, Paumotu, Manahiki.
whenua Maori, Bukabuka.
enua Mangareva, Bukabuka, Rarotonga.
fonua Tonga, Niuē.
honua Hawaii.

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banua Malay, Bicol.
banoa Visayan.
wanua Bugis.
benua Malay, Togean.

Here again, as in item 15, with a very simple mutation picture the variety seems to lie most in the sense. The Polynesian shows a magnificent crescendo series, from the mold at one's feet (Samoa, Aniwa, Maori, Tonga, Niuē, Hawaii) to the land in which one lives (Samoa, Aniwa, Fotuna, Futuna, Uvea, Tahiti, Sikaiana, Moiki, Fakaofo, Efaté, Marquesas, Paumotu, Rapanui, Manahiki, Maori, Bukabuka, Rarotonga, Tonga, Viti, Rotumā, Niuē, Hawaii), upward to the whole world of many lands (Aniwa, Maori, Mangareva, Tonga). In Indonesia, equally in the intervening area of Melanesia, the series is diminuendo, specific, minutely particular; in Polynesia the ultimate sense of a world is built up inferentially as a series of habitable lands; in the Subanu, a Malayan archetypal speech, we have no difficulty in seeing that the world (*alibutan*) is only that which may be seen by the utmost straining of the eyes; it is limited by the last stretch of vision, by the horizon (*libot* to go around); it is of two flat dimensions, a circle in which the ego sits proudly at the intersection of all radii, as important as a spider at the center of his web. To the Subanu the world is a thing of the eye, to the Polynesian it is a thing of the mind, an intellectual conception resting upon a grander thought of the greatness of the cosmos. From the general sense of land the word passes to the smaller conception of place (Sesake, Mota, Fagani, Nggela, Laur, Lambell), to village (Sesake, Mota, Kabadi, Pokau, Galoma, Mekeo, Lambell, Motu, Tubetube, Suau, Lamassa, Rubi, Saa, Santo, Sinaugoro, Hula, Keapara, Bicol, Visayan), down to such a minute particular as house (Malo, Santo, Togean).

Divesting our minds of the connotations grouped about these words in our own speech, it is not difficult to comprehend this downward series. His land, his country, to the bare savage is narrowly restricted. This little stretch of beach from which he may launch his canoe, this stream upon which he may build his flimsy shelter, this small clear spot in the jungle upon which he may plant his food and yet remain within reach of the support of his fellows by the exercise of nimble legs or the frantic shout—this is all the land of which he can say that it is his own. All else is forest; there dwell the spirits which work him evil, there roam the inland tribes more brutal and more savage than himself, for absurdly there are social degrees even at this unsocial basement of society. Therefore his connotation of the word land embraces no more than the tiny acreage upon which he lives in his peace and his comfort in the protection of his neighbors; land so exiguous is dignified when we call it village. In certain of these communities the village becomes the house. I can not find that the community house develops from any sense of greater convenience in building or of greater security when built; for the savage, iron-ruled by his traditions, is little actuated by considerations which partake of the nature of free will. More probably it is a case of the dominance of the religious tyranny which is ever strongest with the ignorant; the

omens are taken for the whole community when the first post of the home is set; the house is made a community house in order that all the folk may share the good omen. It is in the region of the long community house that we find that the land word has become a house word. Acting in the opposite direction, we find an instance in which the house word (*ruma*, cf. item 14) has passed to the village sense; this is *uma* of the Kayans of Borneo, who use the community house and with whom the only village is the long house.

17. **fatu** stone; Subanu **bato** id. P. W. 344.

fatu	Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, Fakaofo, Niuē, Futuna, Aniwa, Fotuna, Sikaiana, Manahiki.
vatu	Viti.
hatu	Nuguria, Nukuoro.
hathu	Rotumā.
whatu	Maori.
haku	Hawaii.
atu	Mangareva, Mangaia.
batu	Malay, Kayan, Silong, Macassar, Togean, Ceram, Rumbia, Mengkoka, Bouton.
bato	Ilocano, Subanu, Visayan, Bontoc Igorot.
watu	Magindano, Savo, Maronene, Kolon.
wâdu	Bima.
vato	Malagasy.
fahou	Satawal.
hatu	Ceram.

The two series are concordant in phonetics and in sense. In several Polynesian instances where we have a second word for stone and where *fatu* has secondary significations (such as the heart and the stone of fruits) we see that the primal signification is nominal not in respect of any given object, but in reference to a certain quality possessed by the objects to which it is applied. The common factor is quite clearly dual, hardness and such size as to lend itself to hand grip; just as in English, under the generic "stone," we have similar particulars in "pebble" and "dornick" and, by an odd variety, the southern United States dialectic use of "rock" in the same sense.

18. **fetū** star; Subanu **bitun** id.

fetū	Samoa, Niuē, Fakaofo, Sikaiana, Manahiki, Marquesas, Tahiti.
fetuu	Tonga, Futuna, Uvea.
fetia	Tahiti.
fitou	Liueniua.
fâtou	Aniwa.
hetu	Rapanui, Paumotu, Marquesas.
whetu	Maori.
heth	Rotumā.
hoku	Hawaii.
etū	Mangareva, Marquesas.
fatui	Sulu.
witun	Sanguir.
witung	Bugis.
bitun	Ibanag, Subanu.
bituun	Visayan, Sulu, Magindano.
bituin	Tagalog.
bittuen	Ilocano.
batuin	Pampangas.
bituek	Silong.
biti	Tami.
bituy	Menado.
betol	Gani.
bitang	Matu.
bintang	Malay, Salayer.
lintang	Java.
toen	Mysot.
toin	Matabello.
teën	Wahai.
tokun	Teor.

Here we shall have to concern ourselves simply with the mutations of the stem. In Polynesia we deal with a stem *fetuu* (*fetū*) subject in general to the mutation variety normal to the several languages of that family. In Tahiti *fetia* affords us an example of a mutation which is

not phonetic but social; it is best explained as an adoption from the Paumotu *fetika* under the influence of the word-tabu known as *te pi;* wholly anomalous in Polynesia (and it must be recalled that the Paumotu is filled with intricate problems of speech) we find no affiliate of *fetika* except *bituek* of Silong in Indonesia. The vowel alteration to *fātou* in Aniwa is paralleled by *fatui* of the Sulu. The vowel change to *hoku* in Hawaiian occurs again in that speech in *to'elau–koolau*. So far as our Polynesian material extends, we have no evidence that the stem is other than open; the incidence of the accent upon the ultima, however, suggests a device of some compensation. But in Indonesia a final consonant is so common and in general so uniform as to preclude the interpretation of local accretion. In nineteen forms there are but three which lack a final consonant, of which Sulu and Menado retain the second vowel characteristic of the Polynesian, one station at the threshold of the Philippines, the other in the Celebes subprovince. In ten forms the final consonant is **n** and in four more it is **ng**, which we know to be a most frequent mutation product of **n**. In the Silong *bituek*, with which is associable the Paumotu *fetika*, the **k** may be regarded as an **ng** mutation once removed. In Gani *betol* we are at no loss to consider **l** as a frequent mutation product of **n** upward in the lingual series. We find such an agreement upon final **n** or recognizable **n**–products that I am willing to propose *fetun* as the original stem of the word. In the general absence of the labial spirants in the languages of Indonesia we find two instances in which the initial **f** is weakened in borrowing and passes vowelward to **w** in Sanguir and Bugis. In eleven instances it is strengthened to the ultimate labial possibility, the mute **b**, and these instances are smoothly distributed over the whole archipelago. The second consonant **t** remains unaltered except in the solitary instance of Teor *toku*, and this **t**–**k** mutation, so general in Polynesian, may well have begun to be felt before the exit from Indonesia; mention of this has been made in item 4. We next direct attention upon a special group of three forms, making a series by themselves: *bitang* is readily to be established in the Malayan series; *bintang* follows with the preface of the mute by the nasal of its proper series; *lintang* shows an anomalous mutation **b**–**l** *extra seriem*, but the agreement with *bintang* in other particulars is sufficient to place it in the group. The characteristic former vowel **e** but once appears in Indonesia. The **a** which we have found in Aniwa is also in Sulu and Pampangas, both Philippine languages and archetypal. In twelve instances evenly distributed over the region the vowel is **i**, and without complicating the record by citation of examples I note that this is the characteristic vowel throughout the Melanesian traverse. The characteristic latter vowel **u** is well preserved. Last of all we find a group of interrelated forms in which the stem has abraded its former syllable; these are found in the Ceram subprovince.

19. **fili** to choose; Subanu **pili** id.

fili	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Fotuna.	**pili**	Visayan, Subanu.
whiri	Maori.	**pilih**	Malay.
iri	Mangaia.	**piri**	Formosa.
		fidi	Malagasy.
		ma–pili	Bontoc Igorot.

Except for the Maori and Mangaian I should consider this stem as of the Proto-Samoan stock. There are instances in which we admit stems of this older migration in the Maori, but Mangaia is commonly attributed to the distinctively Tongafiti; however, the stem is absent from the other Tongafiti Polynesian.

20. **fili** enemy; Subanu **pinilian** the wicked.

fili	Samoa, Tonga, Niuē, Futuna, Uvea.	**pinilian**	Visayan, Subanu.

This is a most interesting case of a purely Proto-Samoan stem discovered in the archetypal Malayan region. In the Visayan we find a secondary form showing that after the stem had been taken on loan it had been subjected to the Malayan régime in forming derivatives; it is easy to discover the stem *pili* when we set aside, in **p:***in*:**ili:***an*, the infix and accompanying suffix.

21. **fohe** paddle; Visayan **bogsay** id. P. W. 429.

fohe	Tonga, Niuē.		rewa, Nuguria, Nukuoro, Liueniua, Nukumanu, Nuguria, Tauu.
foe	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Sikaiana.	**ohe**	Mangareva.
foi	Fotuna.		
vodhe	Viti.		
hoe	Maori, Tahiti, Marquesas, Rapanui, Mangareva, Hawaii, Tonga-	**bogsay**	Visayan.

In the absence of a wider Indonesian series this Visayan is included for reference only, since it is by no means certain that it stems with *fohe*. In that direction points its *bo*. If next we seek in **g** a mutation product of **h**, we find that it would be objectionable, though not impossible, as a mutation *extra seriem*, for the **dh** of Viti shows the stem **h** to be aspiration proximate to the lingual series. Assuming this mutation, however, we are at a loss to account for *say*. If it were not for **g** we should see the affiliation of **bo**(*g*)**say** with *fohe;* the intrusion of the **g** lies at present beyond our comprehension.

22. **funga** fruit; Subanu **bunga** id. P. W. 292.

funga	Samoa.	**bunga**	Malay, Subanu.
hunga	Nukuoro.	**bonga**	Visayan.
		vuni	Malagasy.

This is an interesting Proto-Samoan vocable of narrow limits. In the other languages of the two oceanic areas this stem seems to have been lost in *fua*, which is probably of kin. It is quite clear (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, 426) that the latter was originally *fuan;* recalling the frequency of syllable inversion, it is quite possible that an original

fuan was transformed to *funa* and thence in compensation to *funga*. As an open stem this would tend to permanence, while *fuan* must in the course of Polynesian speech-growth slough off its final consonant.

23. **ia** he; Visayan **sia, siya** id.

ia	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Rotumā, Fakaofo, Marquesas, Rapanui, Tahiti, Mangareva, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Maori, Hawaii, Aniwa.
koya	Viti.
iya	Malay.
sia	Sulu, Visayan.
siya	Tagalog, Visayan, Bontoc Igorot.
hia	Kayan.
ya	Pampangas.

Here it suffices to note the substantial identity of these forms. This and the other pronouns will better repay study when grouped for examination in relation to the theory of evolution from position designations which I have advanced in a paper on "Root Reducibility in Polynesian" (27 American Journal of Philology, 369) and which I shall prosecute more exhaustively in writing the comparative grammar of this family of isolating languages.

24. **ikan** fish; Subanu, **sora, seda** id. P. W. 350.

ika	Fakaofo, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Moiki, Nuguria, Sikaiana, Maori, Marquesas, Rapanui, Mangareva, Tongarewa, Mangaia, Paumotu, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Viti.
i'a	Samoa, Rotumā.
ia	Nukuoro, Tahiti, Hawaii.
ikan	Malay, Massaratty, Teor, Ilocano, Wayapo, Gah, Rumbia, Bontoc Igorot.
maran–igan	Menado.
itjan	Maronene.
ikani	Bouton.
ikiani	Amblaw.
ackan	Silong.
ian	Lariko, Wahai, Gani, Saparua, Ahtiago, Matabello, Ceram.
iyan	Liang, Morella, Nufōr.
iani	Batumerah, Awaiya, Caimarian.
iano	Ceram.
ein	Mysot.
yano	Teluti.
jikan	Borneo.
nyan	Tidore.
guihan	Chamorro.
nik	Uap.
iwa	Java.
ka	Kar Nicobar.
ga	Central Nicobar.
isda	Sulu, Visayan.

The concord of the Malayan affiliates is so preponderating that we can entertain no doubt that the stem was originally closed with the nasal *n*. That we can not identify this closed *ikan* from any of the Polynesian uses of *ika* is susceptible of a simple explanation. When an attributive most strongly inclines toward what we know as the noun use, it is not susceptible of modification by the suffixes used to particularize the employment of the more diffuse attributives; it is lacking in the protection to the stem afforded by these additional members, and a final consonant drops off and leaves no sign. As ordered in this table, the Indonesian affiliates fall into a readily comprehensible series of devolution forms. This is true of all but the last form. I have included *isda* in the list in order to complete the record, but it is clearly a distinct stem. It affiliates readily with the Subanu *seda* by metathesis of the former syllable, and *seda* is just as distinctly a mutation of *sora*. I regard either *isda* or *seda* as primal, but which of these two came first we can not discover until a further series of the stem is discovered.

25. **hiku** tail; Visayan **icog** id.

hiku Tonga, Uvea, Niuē, Marquesas.
iku Tonga, Futuna, Mangaia, Mangareva, Rapanui.
i'u Samoa.
si'u Samoa.
hiu Tahiti, Hawaii.

siku Malay.
iku Bareë.
ikur Malay.
ikun Buru.
eko Kayan.
ukui To-Bungku.
uhi Malagasy.

The identifications are satisfactory except for the Malagasy *uhi;* this would involve an inversion of syllables (for which we have no warrant) in an Indonesian stem *hiu*, of which we find no trace. In both areas we encounter an interlacing of two stems: *hiku* "the tail, to end," and *siku* "the elbow, any projecting angle." It is not impossible that these are particulars of one general idea slightly differentiated in the form.

26. **inum** to drink; Subanu **guinom** id. P. W. 376.

inu (m) Samoa, Fakaofo, Tonga, Nukuoro, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Nuguria, Maori, Tahiti, Marquesas, Mangareva, Fotuna, Mangaia, Tongarewa, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Rotumā, Aniwa, Hawaii.
unu (m) Rapanui, Sikaiana, Viti.
ngunu (v) Viti.

inom Visayan.
ma–īnum Bontoc Igorot.
minum Malay.
minom Pampangas.
o–minum Magindano.
o–minom Tagalog.
minu–na Malagasy.
nginum Java.
ma–ngīnum Bontoc Igorot.
ma–ngino Togean.

For some reason, which it is quite impossible to determine in our present knowledge of these two language families, this stem in each area has been subjected to violent perturbation. In Polynesia we find the two types *inum* and *unum*, a vowel change somewhat extensive, but not by any means unfamiliar. In Viti, alongside the Polynesian *unum*, we encounter the form *ngunuv*. The possibility of an alternative stem final in **v** is confirmed by the presence of *inuv* in Nggela and *unuv* in Mota along the Melanesian traverse. The accretion of *ng* is met with in Java *nginum*, Igorot *ma–ngīnum* and Togean *ma–ngino*. Except for the last and the Malagasy form the Indonesian exhibits the stem *inum*. In the Visayan this appears without ornament, and the Subanu accords therewith except in the particular of the **g** frontal accretion which we have found so characteristically applied to stems beginning with a vowel. In five examples, three in the Philippines and two in the extreme west of Indonesia, we find the secondary stem *minum*, which has not passed along into Polynesia; yet the Igorot *ma–īnum* suggests that *minum* is a composite of *inum* with verb-formative *ma*.

27. **isu** nose; Subanu **soong** id. P. W. 348.

isu Samoa, Futuna, Fakaofo, Aniwa, Manahiki, Nuguria, Fotuna, Rotumā.
ishu Moiki.
iu Rarotonga.

ihu Tonga, Niuē, Uvea, Maori, Tahiti, Hawaii, Marquesas, Mangareva, Paumotu, Rapanui, Tongarewa, Nukuoro.
udhu Viti.

In my former examination of the intricacies in which this stem is involved (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, 348) I was led to the erection of

a primal stem *su*, which is the only common factor entering into the several vocables there collated. This Subanu *soong* I regard as confirmation of that judgment. From this primal *su* various determinant vocables have been formed. With a wider range of Indonesian material than was then accessible to me, I may arrange the material from this family in a provisional series. The key is the mutation of the **s**, weakly to the lingual liquid, strongly to its mute. Assuming the secondary vocable *isu*, which we find as the most common stem in Polynesian, we now list the mutations.

iru Ambon, Kolon.
irung Java.
idung Malay.
ĭleng Bontoc Igorot.
hiru Ambon.
niru Allor, Ceram, Minahassa.
nirun Kei.
ngirung Minahassa.
iri Ambon.
ilu Bima.
nggilung Minahassa.
ili Ambon.
uru–na Malagasy.
kam–uru Macassar.
urong Dayak.
ninura Ambon.
nunu Ternate.
ngunu Halmaheira.
usnut Gani.

The Ambon dialectic forms serve to link together widely variant types in a continuity which otherwise would not be discoverable. The recurrence of final **ng** (**n**) in so many of these variant forms tends to establish that final consonant in Subanu *soong* as pertaining to the primal stem, on which point refer to the note under item 24. The chief links in this Indonesian chain are found in Melanesia, and particularly in the important region of the north shore of Torres Strait. The four entries at the end of the list are presented to complete the record so far as it goes; quite clearly they pertain in some fashion to the series, but for the present they stand as somewhat anomalous.

28. **kapa** to flap the wings; Visayan **capacapa** id. P. W. 295.

kapa Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Mangareva, Mangaia, Maori, Nuguria.
'apa Samoa.
apa Tahiti.
pa Fotuna, Rotuma.

kapakapa Magindano, Visayan.

kapak Malay.
pacpac Tagalog, Bicol.
pak–sa Kawi.
pak–si Basakrama.
papak Magindano, Baliyon.

It is quite plain that we are concerned here with two stems, or in better likelihood a primal stem with determinant accretion. The primal stem seems to be *pak*, the derivative *kapak*. In the general theory of the evolution of isolating vocables we should look to find the primal stem in the possession of the earliest phase of the speech. The evidence here presented is not decisive. The *pak* stem is found as far to the west as Java—truly in the ancient speech, since it is credited to the Kawi, and to the Basakrama, which is frequently conservative of archaic forms; eastward, in the region of the archetype of Malayan speech, it is found in the Philippines in Magindano, Tagalog, Bicol, and in the immediately associable Baliyon of the Borneo Dayaks. Yet in composition with *kau*, "a projecting member," the primal stem *pak* appears in Polynesia in these words for "wing" as "flap-limb,"

pahkau Fotuna, *pakau* Maori and Moriori, *pekeheu* Marquesas, *pehau* Mangareva, *peheu* Tahiti and Hawaii. Rotumā *papau* is not exactly reconcilable, but seems in some way associated. Omitting Fotuna, these are distinctively Tongafiti languages. On the other hand, the secondary stem *kapak* is found generally in Polynesian, in the Malay, and equally in the Visayan and Magindano. It is accordingly manifest that *pak* and *kapak* were synchronous in the Proto-Polynesian before the two streams were divided at their source, but that the secondary stem was not considered necessary in the "wing" composite by the ancestors of the Tongafiti. In my earlier study of the word I am manifestly in error of judgment in regarding *kapak* as primitive and *pak* as derivative by abrasion of the former syllable. It comports far better with a theory of evolution in the languages of isolation to proceed from the simpler form to the more complex, from the general and diffuse to the specific and particular.

29. **kape** wild taro; Subanu **gabe** an edible tuber.

kabe Tonga.
kape Futuna, Niuē, Mangareva, Rapanui, Marquesas.
'ape Samoa.
ape Marquesas, Tahiti.

gabe Subanu.
gabi Visayan.
gobe Subanu.

This stem is of peculiar interest as indicative of one of the most remote outposts in the Pacific of Proto-Samoan migration. In the Malayan archipelago it occurs in the most primitive region of the language family; in the Pacific it is found only in Nuclear Polynesia, save for its recurrence in all the languages of the province of Southeastern Polynesia which I have found it advisable to constitute. In that province this stem is one of several pieces of evidence upon which I have been able to establish the fact of an early settlement by wanderers of the early migration community.

30. **kau** tree; Subanu **cahoy, gayo** id. P.W. 353.

kau Futuna, Niuē, Fakaofo, Manahiki, Nuguria, Maori, Rarotonga, Tongarewa, Mangareva, Paumotu, Fotuna, Sikaiana, Nukuoro, Rapanui, Moiki, Tonga, Uvea, Marquesas, Viti.
'au Samoa.
au Hawaii, Tahiti.
kao Aniwa.
kou Aniwa.
kai Viti.
oi Rotumā.

kasu Efaté.
gazu Nggao.
kau Efaté, Sesake, Epi, Nguna, Aneityum.
gau Marina.
au Motu.
kai Aneityum, Bierian, Malo, Epi, Longa, Leut.
gair Murray Island.
gai Omba, Arag, Nggela, Bugotu, Gog, Tangoan Santo.
hai Vaturanga, New Georgia.
ai Malekula, Ulawa, Bululaha, Alite, Vitu. Graget.
ta–ngae Mota.
gei–ga Maewo.
re–ga Lakon, Lo.
ta–nkei Merlav.
nge Volow, Motlav, Norbarbar, Vuras, Mosin, Pak, Sasar, Alo Teqel.
ge Malekula.
ke Umre, Leng.
gi Tanna.

cahoy Subanu, Visayan.
gayo Subanu.
kayu Malay, Baju.
kayao Bontoc Igorot.
hazu Malagasy.
kai Teor.

Because this stem, if a single stem it be, has been so tangled, I find it necessary to include the list of Melanesian types. Of these some, in fact the majority, serve to establish connection between types in Polynesia and types in Melanesia, which without these intervening varieties would baffle inquiry. Other Melanesian forms, apparently wide of the two greater speech-family types, in this array will readily be discovered to be successive devolution forms in somewhat degrading borrowing by the uncouth savages. Polynesia affords us the two types *kau* and *kai*, for we may disregard *kou* as being a product of vowel mutation from *kau* and *oi* as similarly related to *kai*. Melanesia yields us three types, *kasu*, *kau*, and *kai*. In the second and third it accords with Polynesia, therefore we find these types carried back to the very gateways at which Polynesian migration emerged from Indonesia. The *kasu* type is easily identified with one of the Indonesian types, *hazu* and its derivative *cahoy*. The *kai* type is found in Indonesia, in Melanesia and in Polynesia, therefore we may regard it as original Polynesian stock brought by the roving fleets as far as Viti in Nuclear Polynesia. In *kayu* we can see a probable association with *kau*, the common Polynesia type; and *gayo* is clearly a variant of *kayu*. The last difficulty is met in the attempt to connect *gayo* with *cahoy*. Inasmuch as the two are met with concurrently in Subanu, I feel that we are justified in regarding *gayo* as derivative from *cahoy*, the Igorot *kayao* being an intermediate link. Thus the series is complete.

31. **koe** thou; Visayan **icao** id.

koe	Tonga, Futuna, Niue, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Rapanui, Paumotu, Mangareva, Marquesas, Maori, Aniwa, Sikaiana.	**kau**	Baliyon.
ʻoe	Samoa.	**kaaw**	Matu.
oe	Tahiti, Marquesas, Hawaii, Fakaofo.	**icao**	Visayan.
		sĭkă	Bontoc Igorot.
		angkau	Malay.

Ceremony in Malayan life (the courtesy of the honorific phrase and the humility of the speaker) has largely obliterated syntax. In fact parsing does not become an obsession until distrustful speakers begin to lose confidence in the expressive character of their speech and put their reliance in machinery—auxiliary verbs, for instance. This ceremony affects equally, but in opposite directions, the pronouns of the first and second persons; I is abased, the speaker is but a worm of the dust, a mere insignificance; thou is raised to the peak of honor; lord is but the beginning of address; from *tuan* the Malayans pass to giddy heights of exaltation. Therefore the list of Indonesian affiliates of the second personal pronoun is brief and hard to come at. Yet the connection is made clear by the Visayan, always noting that here in the Philippines we find the archetypal Malayan. From *icao*, a secondary form with the **i** augment which in time I shall establish as being a personal index, we may readily trace the simpler *kau* type. For transition forms and for the portage of the type into Polynesia we shall need a

collation of the Melanesian material. Segregated according to the mutation of the primal consonant **k**, this falls into a remarkably compact and interesting table with exceedingly few lacunæ.

iko	in–iko	in–ik en–ik	n–iko	n–ik	ik	ko
igo	in–igo	....	n–igo	....	..	go
ingo	ig–ingo ni–ingo	in–ing	g–ingo	n–ing	..	ngo
....	....	in–ek ni–ek	....	n–ek	..	..
....	....	....	ng–ike	....	..	ke

in–iko Maewo, Merlav, Mota.
in–ik Gog.
en–ik Vanua Lava.
n–iko Maewo.
n–ik Merlav, Gog, Lakon, Vanua Lava.
ik Merlav.
ko Epi, Sesake, Maewo, Mota.
in–igo Santo.
n–igo Santo.
go Santo, Arag, Omba, Maewo.
ig–ingo Arag.

ni–ingo Sesake.
in–ing Volow.
g–ingo Arag.
n–ing Volow.
ngo Sesake, Omba.
in–ek Motlav.
ni–ek Norbarbar.
ng–ike Lo.
ke Gog, Lakon, Lo.
ka Mota.
o Ambrym, Santo.

From this showing we perceive that *icao* and the putative primal form *cao* have been carried into the movement toward Polynesia, for this is the sole present worth of Melanesia to our studies, and that they have been subjected to the same mutation, *kao* has become *ko*. At present we may regard this as vowel loss. This mutation is rare in the attributives, yet not unknown; in the demonstratives it is more common. Where so much of the primal stem is preserved we must admit this mutation by vowel loss as permissible. Thus we are led from *icao* to *iko*, and this we find in Nuclear Polynesia in the strengthened *ko iko* of Viti, a language in which we encounter much that is archetypal of Polynesian. Those students who have examined my establishment (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, page 147) of two streams of Polynesian exit from Indonesia, the Viti Stream by way of Torres Strait, the Samoa Stream by the north coast of New Guinea, will have no difficulty in recognizing this series as deposited along the sweep of the southern or Viti Stream. For the northern course, the Samoa Stream, Melanesia affords us another type of mutation, which may be set forth in the following tables:

igoe igoo goo	ihoe	ioe	io	o, ho go, no
....	....	...	..	

igoe Nggela, Bugotu, Ngao.
ihoe Vaturanga.
ioe Ulawa, Wango, Saa.
io Saa.
o Ulawa, Wango.

igoo Fagani.
goo Fagani.
go Fagani, Nggela, Bugotu, Ngao.
no Savo.

Here we see a vowel mutation from *kao* to *koe;* preferably we have the two variants from some primal type which we are not yet able to uncover in Indonesia. The devolution leads us (*go*) both to the *ko* type of Viti and to the *koe* type of Polynesia in general.

32. **kumi** beard, chin; Subanu **gumi** beard.

kumi	Viti, Maori, Marquesas, Mangareva, Paumotu.	**umi**	Tahiti, Hawaii.

If it were not for the presence of *kumi* in Viti, this would seem assignable to the Tongafiti migration, which is scarcely probable. In Tonga, Uvea, and Niuē occurs the form *kumu* applied to the chin; it seems to bear some relation to the foregoing.

33. **kutu** louse; Visayan **coto** id. P. W. 357.

kutu	Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Fotuna, Sikaiana, Marquesas, Rarotonga, Rapanui, Nukuoro, Niuē, Maori, Viti.	**kuto**	Macassar.
		koto	Wayapo, Massaratty, Visayan, Bontoc Igorot.
ngutu	Paumotu.	**kota**	Sula.
'utu	Samoa.	**kutim**	Ahtiago.
utu	Tahiti, Marquesas.	**o–kutu**	Bouton.
uku	Hawaii.	**hut**	Teor.
		utu	Morella, Matabello.
kutu	Malay, Java, Salayer, Menado, Bolanghitam, Sanguir, Gani, Lariko, Gah, Baju.	**utu–a**	Caimarian.
		ûtu–k	Tihu.
		utu–n	Wahai.
		uti, ut	Mysot.

Here we have a perfectly smooth series of affiliates, the same frontal abrasion occurring in each area.

34. **kana** to eat; Subanu **cana, gaan** id. P. W. 191.

kana (kani)	Viti.	**gaan**	Subanu.
		ma–kan	Malay, Bontoc Igorot.
kana	Subanu.	**mo–konie**	Togean.
caon	Visayan.	**măngan**	Bontoc Igorot.

This is manifestly a Proto-Polynesian stem carried down to Viti by both streams of Proto-Samoan migration, for we have a full series of its occurrence in Melanesia. The general Polynesian stem is *kai*. Yet we are not justified in assigning this to the Tongafiti migration solely, for we find it at four stations in Torres Strait, the exit of the Viti stream; these are Sariba *kai*, Suau and Mabuiag *ai*, Dobu *e'ai*, and they are dotted among other stations where the *kani* type obtains. In default of Indonesian instances of *kai*, I am still unwilling to accept its production from *kani* by loss of **n** in its inner protected situation. Still it is clear that *kani* and *kai* existed simultaneously at the period of the first Polynesian flight out of the Malay seas.

35. **lafa** ringworm; Visayan **labhag** id.

lafa	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna.

From its restrictively Nuclear Polynesian provenience this vocable has particular interest as tending to show that the Proto-Samoans who took part in the flight into Polynesia were the same folk as those who in some part of the Indian archipelago were in contact with those first comers of the Malayans who later moved northeastward to the settlement of the Philippines.

36. **langi** sky; Subanu **langit** id. P. W. 359.

langi	Samoa, Fakaofo, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Manahiki, Nukuoro, Viti, Rotumā.
rangi	Maori, Rarotonga, Mangareva, Rapanui, Paumotu, Tongarewa, Aniwa, Fotuna.
lani	Nuguria, Hawaii.
rai	Tahiti.
rang	Efaté.
ani, aki	Marquesas.
langit	Visayan, Subanu, Sulu, Tagalog, Chamorro, Kayan, Magindano, Malay, Java.
langid	Baliyon.
langi	Bugi, Champa, Macassar.
lanit–ra	Malagasy.
janggie	Togean.
ran	Uap.

Assuming the closed stem *langit*, and for this we have Indonesian evidence of excellent quality and complete extent through the province, the final consonant had been lost at the time of Polynesian exit from the Malay Archipelago, for in each stream we find only the open form in the Melanesian traverse (*langi*) or the secondary abrasion (*lang*) to the closed type.

37. **lango** a fly; Subanu **langau** id. P. W. 360.

lango	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Viti.
rango	Fotuna, Maori, Rarotonga, Paumotu.
nango	Nukuoro.
lano	Nuguria.
nalo	Hawaii.
rao	Tahiti.
lang	Rotumā.
lango	Kayan, Sanguir, Pampangas, northeast Celebes.
raingo	Menado, Bolanghitam.
langau	Subanu, Tagalog, Malay.
lengeau	Dayak.
langao	Visayan.
langow	Baju, northeast Celebes.
lalangou	North Borneo.
langa	Gorontalo, Bunda.

The only matter which need engage our attention here is the mutation of the final vowel. We shall find other instances of the **o–ao** variety, and it will simplify the study to examine them collectively after the massing of the data has been completed.

38. **laka** to step; Subanu **laang** to walk.

laka	Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea.
la'a	Samoa.
lako	Viti.
laang	Subanu.
lacang	Visayan.
pag–**lacat**	Visayan.

The data are insufficient for the determination of the question suggested by the Subanu-Visayan, whether this is a closed stem and whether the final consonant is **t** or **ng**. We find it in Melanesia in two widely severed stations on the Viti Stream, Motu and Mota. In Motu we find *raka* "to walk." In Mota we have a tangle of forms: *laka* "to kick up the heels as in dancing," *lagau* "to pass, cross over, of impediment rather than space," *lago* "to step."

39. **lalo** below; Visayan **ilalom** id. P. W. 213.

lalo	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Hawaii, Nuguria.
raro	Maori, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Tongarewa, Bukabuka, Mangareva, Sikaiana, Aniwa, Fotuna, Nukuoro, Rapanui.
ngango	Moiki.
ao	Marquesas.

At the time of my earlier study of this vocable I lacked Indonesian affiliates, a lack which is now supplied most satisfactorily. The Visayan *i–lalom* is clearly a composite representing the modern Samoan use of *i lalo* locative and *'i lalo* of terminus ad quem. The fact that it has a

nasal final may be taken to shed light upon the forms which we have proposed in Melanesia for affiliation with this stem. In Vaturanga we find *lao*, which follows the régime of that speech in dropping an inner **l** and thus halfway approximates the denuded form *ao* of the Marquesas. The only other provenience in Melanesia is confined to a group of hitherto obscure forms found in the tiny Banks Group, and all interrelated. These are effectively *lalangai, lalange, lang*. It will be seen that all these forms have a final nasal. Though it differs in series from the final **m** of the Visayan the distant mutation **m–ng** is well supported in another word in the same group, *malum–melunglung* (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, page 370).

40. **lano** a lake; Subanu **danao** id.

lano	Samoa.
ndrano	Viti.
rano	Rapanui.
ano	Tonga, Futuna, Uvea.
rano–masina	Malagasy.
danao	Visayan, Subanu.
tjanaom	Bontoc Igorot.

This word is Proto-Samoan, in Rapanui an interesting article of the proof of migration to that ultimate islet by the first-comers into the Pacific. In sense it implies fresh water. Therefore it does not surprise us to find that in usage probably Tongafiti it interlaces with the slightly variant *lanu*, which signifies sweet water in general and certain of the particular uses to which it may be put. We find the same in Indonesia, Java and Kawi *ranu*, Kawi *danu*, Ilocano *danum*, all signifying water in general. Thus we are led to Malay *danau* of the ocean, the sweet water has passed to the salt by steps which have left their record.

41. **laun** a leaf; Subanu **doon** id. P. W. 397.

lau	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Nuguria, Niuē, Hawaii.
rau	Viti, Maori, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Rapanui, Paumotu, Mangareva, Nukuoro, Fotuna, Rotumā.
ndrau	Viti.
au	Marquesas.
lou	Tonga.
rou	Mangareva.
ou	Marquesas.
rau	Savu.
rou	Java.
laun	Saparua.
daun	Baliyon, Baju, Malay.
dawun	Malay.
dahun	Sulu.
dahon	Visayan.
doon	Subanu.

That the final **n** pertains to the primal stem we have abundant evidence in Indonesia, confirmation in Melanesia in Moánus, Barriai and Malekula *laun* and Malo *rauna*.

42. **lē** no, not; Subanu **da, di** id.

ē	Rapanui.
eaki	Rotumā.
sē	Samoa, Rotumā.
lē	Samoa.
lea'i	Samoa.
tē	Maori, Mangareva, Rapanui, Marquesas.
sega, segai	Viti.
ohe	Hawaii.
ole	Hawaii.
ore	Tahiti.
kore	Rapanui, Paumotu, Mangareva, Marquesas.
oe	Marquesas.
kakore	Mangareva, Rapanui, Paumotu Marquesas.
kakoe	Marquesas.
koe	Rapanui, Marquesas.
kare	Rarotonga, Mangaia.
aohe	Hawaii.
aole	Hawaii.
aore	Mangaia, Tahiti.
aoe	Marquesas, Hawaii.
kahore	Maori.
ahore	Maori.
hore	Maori.
ko	Rapanui.

It will tend toward the simplification of this nexus, which seems the more complicated as we extend the view, if we dissect out the negatives which are found singly or in combination in these Polynesian languages before we advance upon other allied tongues. From the variety of the Samoan *lē* particular and *sē* indefinite negatives, corresponding in the functional value of the consonantal modulant to the weak demonstratives (article value) *le* particular and *se* indefinite, we infer a primal negative *ē*. This we find in an unmodulated condition in Rapanui, and in the Rotumā composite *eaki* corresponding to Samoan *lea'i* it again appears. For the **l** and the **s** modulants I can discern no value other than that of indicating precision. In composition with other elements they recur in the following forms, postponing consideration of the value of the composition members: *ohe, aohe, ole, aole, ore* (*oe*), *aore* (*aoe*), *hore, ahore* (*kahore*), *kore* (*koe*), *kakore* (*kakoe*), *kare*. The same primal negative receives the consonantal modulant **t** in certain languages of the Tongafiti stock, *tē* in Maori, Rapanui, Mangareva, and the Marquesas. This modulant may be regarded as the definite modulant, such as in the same migration group we find in the article *te;* at the same time we may find reason to assign to the **t** in this composition a negative value of its own. Toward the latter interpretation operates the fact that in the range of Polynesian *tē* is considered so strongly negative that it requires no bolstering with other negative particles, which we have just observed to be so extensive in the case of *sē* and in an even more highly marked degree of *lē*. The second stage away from the primal negative *ē* shows the preface of *ko* to *sē* and to *lē*, thus producing a typical *kosē* which is inferential from Hawaiian *ohē*, and *kore*. In Hawaii and Tahiti, which lack *k*, we find this stage in *ohe, ole, ore;* and in the Marquesas, which drops the liquid also, we find no more than *oe*. This preface syllable is itself a negative, as we may see from Rapanui *ko*; the composite is, therefore, a determinant compound in which two stems carrying *inter alia* one signification in common are compacted in order to set the meaning beyond doubt. With *kore* we shall probably associate the *hore* which gives us a series of three members in Maori. I am unable to discover *ho* elsewhere in Polynesia in a negation use, and the **k–h** mutation, while it is phonetically possible, I can not find in Polynesian use. A variant *kare* in Rarotonga and Mangaia has peculiar interest because we meet the same form far to the westward in Maewo *kare*, dehortative "do not." In the discussion of Melanesian negatives I hope to be able to show that *ka* in itself carries negative value. In this place we shall assume this to be fact and shall estimate *kare* not as a vocalic mutant of *kore*, for vocalic mutation is almost unknown in Polynesian, but as a *lē* compound with the negative preface *ka*. This same *ka* gives us the third stage of the Polynesian negative, *kose* and *kole* prefaced by *ka*, doubly a determinant compound, "no–no–no," which ought surely to be beyond all chance of miscomprehension. In this third type we have from *se* the Hawaiian *aohe* rising in the loss of **k** twice, and from *lē* we

have *kakore, kakoe, aole, aore, aoe.* We have already noted that Maori *hore* is anomalous; it continues so through its series; *kahore* is a compound of this third type, but *ahore* is beyond explanation, since the Maori is in general tenacious of the **k**.

We shall now examine the Melanesian negative, a sad tangle at first view, but I am quite convinced that the following table will suggest the way toward a simple statement.

(a)	sa	ta tate tat taho	ka–re
e	he hete	te tehe teo	t–
i	si–a	ti di	

Here we have the **e** negative, the **a** negative which we have already met in *kare* and *kakore,* and in addition an **i** negative which may be primal or may be a mutation from **e**. The languages comprised in this table are as follows:

sa Marina, Saa, Bugotu.
ta Motlav, Volow, Gog, Norbarbar.
tate Lo.
tat Lo.
taho Nggela.
kare Maewo.
e Pak, Alo Teqel.
he Omba.
hete Omba.
te Omba, Mota, Lakon, Arag, Deni.
tehe Arag.
teo Ngao.
t– Motlav.
i Alo Teqel.
si–a Savo, Vaturanga.
ti Sesake, Efaté, Merlav.
di Sesake.

Of the three Polynesian negatives in the first remove from primal **ē,** namely *sē, lē, tē,* we find *sē* represented by *sa, he* and *si; tē* represented by *ta, te, ti,* and *di; lē* is found in but the single instance of *ka–re.* In the compound forms here presented *hete, tehe* and *tate* are clearly determinant compounds of the grateful double negative type; *tat* comes from *tate* by terminal abrasion. In *taho* and *teo* we readily segregate *ta* and *te;* the residual *ho* and *o* do not elsewhere appear as negatives, but they certainly suggest the *ho* of Maori *ho–re* and provide a primitive for the modulated *ko* of Rapanui and the general secondary type *ko–re.*

We next encounter a group of composite negatives of the secondary type which are quite manifestly associable *inter se* and beyond Melanesia with the *lea'i* of Samoan. These will be shown in order in the following table.

ai		tagai tigai
	gae bwai pwai–ke hai–ke	
(a)	aga	'iga taga tagar tga
(i)		tigi tig teji

The languages comprised in this table are these:

ai	Wango.	**tagai**	Mota.	**tagar**	Gog.
gae	Fagani.	**tigai**	Maewo.	**tga**	Motlav.
bwai	Wango.	**aga**	Pak.	**tigi**	Maewo.
pwai–ke	Ulawa.	**'iga**	Leon.	**tig**	Maewo.
hai–ke	Saa.	**taga**	Merlav.	**teji**	Norbarbar.

It will be seen that the preface members of such composites as are in this list are variants of the *te* type.

The Subanu *da* and *di* are sonant varieties of the *ta* and *ti*, of which we have evidence in Melanesia, and its *daay* is paralleled by *tagai*. Bontoc Igorot yields us *ădĭ*.

43. **liko** around; Subanu **molió** curved.

liko	Futuna, Viti.	**balico**	Visayan.
li'o	Samoa.	**molió**	Subanu.

This is the least-used of a group of three consimilars, *liko*, *niko*, and *piko*, in which we may recognize as operative the effect of consonant modulant prefaces upon a primal stem *iko*. The *liko* form is found at these three stations in Nuclear Polynesia and doubly at this single Philippine station; relative to the speech families in which they occur, Nuclear Polynesia and the Philippines are recognized as archetypal and representative of the Proto-Samoan. In Subanu we have no difficulty in dissecting out the particle of condition *ma*, and the *ba* of the Visayan is a familiar variant of the same.

44. **longo** to hear; Visayan **dongog** id. P. W. 398.

longo	Samoa, Nukuoro, Futuna, Uvea, Niuē, Fakaofo, Rarotonga.	**langan**	Matu.
rongo	Viti, Maori, Mangaia, Mangareva, Paumotu, Rapanui, Aniwa, Fotuna.	**rungu**	Java.
		rohona	Malagasy.
		rungak	Uap.
ongo	Tonga.	**hungu**	Chamorro.
lono	Hawaii, Nuguria.	**dongog**	Visayan.
ono	Marquesas.	**dĕngek**	Bontoc Igorot.
oko	Marquesas.	**dangar**	Malay.

In Polynesia we lack derivative forms which might protect a final consonant if this had been a closed stem. The final mute palatal in *dongog* and *rungak* I incline to regard as verb-formative suffix in the eastern Malayan; it is suggested again only in Omba *ronghogosi*, and there obscurely, for we have no means of determining if the **g** is terminal of the stem or initial to the latter composition member. In examining the Melanesian material we find suggestions of final **m** in Vaturanga and of final **v** in Vaturanga and Kabadi. In our slovenly American orthoepy it may not be wholly unnecessary to draw attention to the fact that the Malay recognize in *langar* full consonant value for the final **r**; this seems to belong to the stem, at least in one stage of its development, for it recurs in Lambell, King, Duke of York, Baravon, Raluana, Mukawa, Tavara, Wedau, Awalama, Taupota, Oiun, and Raqa. It will be seen that these are stations at the two exits from Indonesia, five at the gateway through the Bismarck Archipelago, seven

in Torres Strait, therefore at points of our earliest information of the Samoa Stream and the Viti Stream respectively.

45. **lua** hole; Subanu **luang** id.

lua	Samoa, Futuna, Hawaii.
luo	Niuē, Tonga.
rua	Rapanui, Paumotu, Mangareva, Tahiti, Maori, Mangaia.
ua	Marquesas.
lue	Mota.
loaka	Malagasy.
rua	Malay.
luwang	Java.
luang	Subanu.

From the Indonesian evidence (to which we must add the anomalous Malay *lubang* and the Bontoc Igorot *kaūpan*) we are justified in regarding this as a stem closed in **ng** and the Malagasy is a normal mutation therefrom.

46. **ma** conditional prefix; Subanu, Visayan **ma** id.

This particle is general throughout the three Oceanic areas. It undergoes the normal vocalic mutations; it is paralleled by at least two similar particles (*ta* and *pa*) with differences in the consonantal modulant. I am forced to postpone discussion of the variety in use in this matter to a later period of my researches. In a general way it may be said that given a signification of an action or a state in a primal diffuse attributive, when the need arises for particularity the employment of *ma* prefaced to the attributive stem conveys the sense that a given object exists in the condition stated in the stem signification. Such forms are in essence adjectival in their employment. We may illustrate this from the Samoan *fola* to spread out and *mafola* applied to an object which has been extended and therefore is spread out; we are forced to employ passive forms, but no such voice sense is yet within the power of these languages.

47. **masakit, makit** sick; Visayan **saquit** id. P. W. 379.

masaki	Futuna.
mahaki	Tonga, Uvea, Niuē, Maori.
madhake	Viti.
maki	Marquesas, Rapanui, Mangaia, Mangareva, Paumotu, Nuguria, Fotuna.
ma'i	Samoa.
mai	Rapanui, Tahiti, Hawaii.
masaquit	Ilocano.
sakit	Malay, Visayan, Bontoc Igorot.
makit	Silong.
maki	Kisa.

The strong concord in Indonesia leads me to postulate a final **t**. In the *masakit* forms this is quite clear and finds confirmation in the Melanesian King *miseit*. In the Malayan we have in one form for *makit* this final and in the other instance it does not appear; testimony toward the establishment upon Melanesian authority of the final **t** is derived from Baravon *mait*. The *masakit* type is a conditional; we find the primitive *sakit* in Malay, Visayan, and Bontoc Igorot. This is the elder type; it is Proto-Samoan. For the Tongafiti *makit* we have been able to discover no instance of a primitive, but analogy leads us to the conclusion that this also is a conditional *ma–akit*. Interpolating a term, we may infer the descent from *sakit* through *hakit* to *akit*, then prefacing *akit* with the conditional *ma* the concurrent vowels might coalesce through crasis. It will be observed that now in dealing with the

Visayan material I express myself more positively in support of the position which in my earlier work seemed less clear and that further support appears in the Igorot.

48. **malemos** to drown; Visayan **lomos** id.

lemohaki	Tonga.	**maremo**	Rarotonga.
ndromu	Viti.	**palemo**	Hawaii.
emu	Rapanui.	**paremo**	Tahiti, Maori.
malemo	Samoa, Futuna.	**peremo**	Mangareva.
melemo	Tonga.	**parego**	Paumotu.

The final **s** is found in the Visayan and in normal mutation in the Tongan *lemohaki*. We have in Polynesia three forms of the simple stem, two (*lomu*, *lemo*) in Nuclear Polynesia and one (*emu*) in Rapanui, as an interesting article of the proof of a settlement upon that remote island of a Proto-Samoan colony; even so recently as my recension of the dictionary of that speech this item escaped my attention inasmuch as I had not then the Visayan evidence. The remaining forms in Polynesia are conditional with *ma* and with a variant *pa; pa* is found in languages of the Tongafiti settlement, *ma* is Proto-Samoan, except that Rarotonga is a Tongafiti community but has the conditional prefix of the earlier stock. In Paumotu the **m–g** mutation, a shift across the utmost nasal range, is not unknown in other instances.

49. **mama** to chew; Subanu **mama** id. P. W. 280.

mama	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Rapanui, Marquesas, Mangareva, Hawaii, Viti.	**mamah**	Malay.
		mama	Subanu.
manga	Nukuoro.	**mangāga**	Bontoc Igorot.
maanga	Uvea.		

Except for the mutation in Nukuoro and Uvea this identification is so complete as to be featureless. We note the almost complete absence of the stem from the Melanesian traverse, its only appearance being in Aneityum *a–mai*. In secondary and derivative forms in Nuclear Polynesia we encounter the form *maga*, which passes before the superficial judgment as of the common type of verbal noun formed from stem *ma* by the usual suffix *–ga*, the secondary sense denoting either an act of chewing or the person who chews. If this were the true explanation of *maga* we should find ourselves under the necessity of arguing that in Nukuoro and Uvea the verbal noun, after it had been created purposely to express a distinction for which the language had felt a need, sacrificed that distinction and took the place of the primal verb from which it is derived. This runs contrary to the grammatical course of the speech. The discovery in the Bontoc Igorot of *mangāga* establishes the existence in the earliest type of the Polynesian of a verb radical *manga* and authorizes us in classifying the Nukuoro and Uvea forms as Proto-Samoan. Elsewhere in Nuclear Polynesia, in regions to which the later Tongafiti swarm found readier access and where its domination was better established, the abraded stem *ma* of that phase of the common tongue came into use in its duplicated form. The particular

significance of the Igorot, as in many instances it is the particular significance of the Subanu itself, is that it is an interior language in this region in which we find the archetype not only of Malayan speech but of its early accumulations from the Polynesian ancestors whom it was dislodging. Accordingly, when we are enabled to pass through the coastal settlement of the later Malayan swarms in the Philippines and may find in the languages of the earlier migrants who have been driven back into the mountains word forms identifiable with those which we find in Nuclear Polynesia, we are justified in establishing them as of the earliest Polynesian type.

50. **manifis** thin; Subanu **monepes** id. P. W. 298.

manifi	Samoa, Nukuoro, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea.	**nipis**	Malay.
mafinfini	Fotuna.	**manipis**	Visayan.
		monepes	Subanu.
		manifi	Malagasy.

These are all clear identification, all of the conditional type except that in Malay we have the primitive stem, which reappears at Roro in Torres Strait in the form *nivinivi*.

51. **malino** calm; Subanu **linao** id.

malino	Futuna, Hawaii.		
malinoa	Uvea.	**linao**	Subanu, Visayan.
marino	Maori, Rarotonga, Paumotu.	**alinoao**	Bontoc Igorot.
melino	Tonga.	**malinao**	Bicol.
merino	Mangareva.	**marina**	Malagasy.
milino	Niuē.	**marne**	Formosa.
manino	Samoa, Tahiti.	**maino**	Motu.
menino	Marquesas.		

Disregarding the simple varieties in the Polynesian course of the vocable we establish a conditional type with the primitive plainly apparent in the three Philippine languages.

52. **manu** bird, animal; Subanu **manoc** bird. P. W. 372.

manu	Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, Mangareva, Rarotonga, Mangaia, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Fotuna, Bukabuka, Maori, Hawaii, Nuguria, Rapanui, Marquesas, Paumotu, Viti, Tongarewa.	**manik**	Gani.
		monok	Dayak, Bontoc Igorot.
		malok	Wahai.
		manu	Savu, Kisa, Menado, Sanguir, Sula, Morella, Caimarian, Baju, Salibabo, Togean, Bouton.
manman	Rotumā.	**mano**	Saparua, Lariko, Liang, Batumerah.
manuk	Malay, Sulu.	**mani**	Waigiou Alfuros.
manug	Chamorro.	**manue**	Amblaw, Awaiya.
manok	Kayan, Magindano, Subanu, Visayan, Matu, Gah, Matabello, Teor, Bontoc Igorot.	**manui**	Cajeli.
		manuo	Teluti.
		manuwan	Ahtiago.
manoko	Bolanghitam.	**manuti**	Wayapo.

The final palatal mute is so widely established athwart Indonesia in languages of varying type that we must regard it as proper to the stem; in Melanesia it reappears at such distant stations as Carteret Harbor in New Ireland (*manuk*) and Tanna (*manug*). In Polynesia the word has seldom deviated far or completely from the signification of animals in general; throughout Indonesia it is particularized upon the bird sense, and in Bontoc Igorot it designates a chicken only. We note as a resemblance Sanskrit *manukh, manush* a living creature.

53. **masima** salt; Subanu **masin** id.

masima Samoa, Tonga, Niuē, Uvea, Viti, Duke of York.
te–mosi Rotumā.

masin Malay, Subanu, Visayan.
rano–masina Malagasy.
asin Visayan, Subanu, Bontoc Igorot.
asing Sanguir.
fau–asina Malagasy.

This is a remarkably interesting vocable. In the Pacific it occurs only in Nuclear Polynesia and is therefore properly to be assigned to the Proto-Samoan migration. Just at the gateway to the Pacific we find it at the Duke of York, a position sufficient to establish it in the Samoa Stream. Therefore the note in Pratt's Samoan Dictionary "from Fiji" is inaccurate. In Polynesia the stem consonant is **m**. In Indonesia, however, the stem consonant is **n**. Regarded as phonetic mutation, this variety is well established. Furthermore, our Indonesian affiliates disclose the existence of the types *asin* and *masin;* in fact they exist concurrently in Subanu and Visayan. We therefore infer with whole propriety *asin* to be primal, *masin* conditional, and that a crasis *ma–asin* has taken place is inferential from the vowel quality in Samoan *māsima*. We are now brought so close to another group of forms signifying salt, specifically salt water, thence the sea, that we are justified at least in noting their presence. One small link would establish the chain, namely, the discovery after *asin* of *asi* in a salt sense. As meaning salt water and sea we find this *asi* in Ulawa, Wango, Fagani, Saa, Alite, Bululaha, all determining stations in the Solomon Islands upon the Samoa Stream. As a conditional derivative of *asi*, noting that we have already observed the parallelism of *ma* and *ta*, we have *tasi* in the same sense with *tas*, *tahi*, *tai* in series, which brings us to the general Polynesian *tai* of the sea and, in the Tongafiti languages, of salt as well, on which see *The Polynesian Wanderings*, page 418.

54. **mata** eye, face; Subanu **mata** eye, mesh, bud. P. W. 380.

mata Polynesia ubique (except as follow) in the sense of eye, face, point, edge, mesh, source, any small object, to see.
maka Hawaii.
mafa, maf Rotumā.

mata Visayan, Bontoc Igorot, Kayan, Sulu, Savu, Ilocano, Tagalog, Pampangas, Baju, Bouton, Sanguir, Liang, Wahai, Togean, Salayer, Menado, Bolanghitam, Morella, Lariko, Saparua, Caimarian, Malay, Macassar, Awaiya, Ceram.
matsha Central Nicobar.
matada Matabello.
matat Silong.
matara Ahtiago, Alfuros.
matalalin Wahai.
matanina Gah.
matacolo Teluti.
matava Batumerah.
matoh Baliyon.
matan Ahtiago.
maten Dayak.
matin Teor.
mat Kar Nicobar.
maa Ceram.
makan Kisa.
mut Mysot.
mucha Tagalog.
muka Java.
muguing Ilocano.
mua Madura.
maso Malagasy.

The complete concord of the Polynesian is strangely offset by the variety in Indonesia. There is quite as much variety in Melanesia also, but in this place it is not necessary to include that material. In the

Malayan section I have aimed to order the material in the progress of variation, principally with respect of the final syllable or consonant. The agreement is so overwhelming in favor of *mata* that we need have no hesitation in postulating that open stem as primal. The residual forms, each concurring in but a single speech or at most in but two or three, will fall into the two classes of suffixed composition members and closing consonants added in conformity with the régime of the several dialects.

55. **mate** to die; Subanu **matay** id. P. W. 373.

mate	Samoa, Tonga, Fakaofo, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Maori, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Rapanui, Marquesas, Mangareva, Paumotu, Manahiki, Bukabuka, Tongarewa, Nukuoro.	**make**	Hawaii.
u–mate	Nuguria.	**mate**	Macassar.
ko–mate	Aniwa.	**mati**	Malay.
kono–mate	Fotuna.	**maty**	Malagasy.
		matay	Magindano, Subanu, Visayan.
		patay	Visayan, Java.
		maki	Kisa.
		matei	Kayan.

Strange to say, this word in all its recorded occurrences must be a conditional, for that is the only basis upon which we can comprehend the form *patay* which exists in Java and is found in Visayan simultaneous with *matay*. We should then postulate a primal *ati*, recognizing the considerable predominance in Indonesia of forms in **i**; this might then serve to account for the *oti* of Samoan. In that language *mate* and *oti* are synonyma relative to the fact, but, relative to the subject, *mate* is employed of the beast, *oti* of the man. In my former notes upon these two words (*The Polynesian Languages*, pages 274, 374) I was forced, in the lack of this fuller information, to assign to the courtesy speech the use of *oti* as death. It will be far simpler to consider it as probably a primal, and the discovery of *ate* or *ati* in Indonesia will serve to establish this view beyond peradventure.

Since the writing of this note my collation of the Bontoc Igorot in Seidenadel's vocabulary has disclosed in the noun signifying death the primitive *ĭdöy* and variants *ĭtöy*, *ĕdöy*, *ŏdöy*. Thus, having reached a hypothetical primitive by deduction, it is interesting to find that access to additional data brings confirmation.

56. mati–**kuku** nail, claw; Subanu **kanuku** id.

kuku	Viti.	**mai–uu**	Tahiti, Marquesas, Hawaii.
mati–kuku	Mangareva, Futuna, Maori.		
mai–kuku	Maori, Paumotu, Rapanui, Marquesas.	**kuku**	Malay, Savu, Pampangas.
beji–kuku	Tonga.	**cuco**	Tagalog.
pasi–kuku	Uvea.	**cocó**	Visayan.
mati–'u'u	Samoa.	**kóko**	Bontoc Igorot.

In Polynesia we encounter the primal stem only in Viti; elsewhere it is involved with a formative agent, principally *mati* or *mai*. This occurrence of *kuku* in Viti should serve to set aside Hazlewood's note that it derives from *kuku* the name of a small shell; this shell name extends beyond Viti into Polynesia in its own independent existence. The primal is well established in Indonesia, for the vowel mutation is there negligible, particularly the interchange of **o** and **u**.

57. **matou** we (exclusive); Visayan **camé** id.

ma–tou	Samoa, Marquesas, Tahiti, Rapanui, Mangareva, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Niuē, Uvea, Fakaofo, Tonga, Futuna, Maori.
keimami	Viti.

kama	Aneityum, Gog.
gama	Lakon.
gema	Ambrym.
kami	Maewo.
gami	Fagani, Nggela, Bugotu, Ngao.
ngami	Sesake.
hami	Vaturanga.
iami	Ulawa.
mimi	Epi.
kamai	Araga.
gamai	Omba.
kamam	Merlav, Mota.
kanam	Marina, Norbarbar.
kemam	Norbarbar.
kemem	Vanua Lava, Motlav, Lo.
komom	Vanua Lava.
igemeam	Volow.
iame'u	Wango.
meat	Duke of York.
mai	Savo, Mekeo, Pokau, Kabadi, Motu, Hula, Keapara, Suau, Sariba.
namai	Waima, Roro.
ma	Sinaugoro, Tubetube, Panaieti.

Without being fully prepared to discuss the life history of this exclusive pronoun, I have sought to order the material at present available in such wise that the system in variety may be suggested. In Polynesia we find in the dual and plural exclusive of the first person the stem *mà* in composition with the remnant of the numerals two *lua* and three *tolu* respectively. In Viti with its three numbers above unity we have for the first person exclusive the suite, dual *keirau*, trinal *keitou*, plural *keimami;* from this it is clear that *kei* being common to the suite may not exercise the precise numeration of the plurality, although it may be found to have a general plural sense; that as *rau* of the dual suggests an artificial variant of *rua* two and as *tou* trinal is known to be in Polynesian use as an artificial variant of *tolu* three, therefore *kei* bears the exclusion sense of the composite. Thus we come to a comprehension of the Melanesian series from *kamam* to *komom* localized in the Banks Group. The element *mami* does not exactly recur in Melanesia, but Volow *ige–meam* is almost identical, and the eleven forms with which the Melanesian list opens are not to be set aside. In Torres Strait we find a considerable deposit of a *mai* type, commonly associated with a variant *ai*, and therefore we may not definitely ascribe it to a primal *ma*. But in the same region we do find *ma* in three languages. I am as yet unable to resolve the Visayan *cama* (Bontoc Igorot *tjakami*); taken as a whole we find it represented in Melanesia in *kama*, *gama*, *gema*, most likely in *kamai* and *gamai*, which should serve to link the Savo and Torres Strait *mai* into place, and perhaps in the Banks Group series.

58. **muli** the stern; Visayan **olin** id.

(This will be discussed under the item *uli*.)

59. **namu** mosquito; Visayan **namoc** id. P. W. 386.

namu	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Rarotonga, Mangareva, Nuguria, Sikaiana, Nukuoro, Mangaia, Paumotu, Maori, Marquesas, Tahiti, Viti.
namo	Fotuna.
ramu	Tahiti.
rom	Rotumā.
namok	Malay, Bugi, Visayan.
njamok	Dayak.
njamo	Macassar.
hamok	Kayan.
yamuc	Pampangas.
muka	Malagasy.
lamu	Macassar.

As set forth in my former note, we sense a primal *mok*, although in no speech yet found does it appear unsupported. Additional to the closed Indonesian forms here listed, I note similars from Melanesia; Marina *namugi*, Lakon *namug*, Galavi and Boniki *namokiri*, Tangoan Santo *moke*, Malo *mohe*, Tanna *kumug*, Taupota *himokini*, Wedau *imokini*. The Dayak and Macassar forms have a parallel in Moánus *njam*.

60. **nifo** tooth; Subanu **ngisi** id. P. W. 302.

1	**nifo**	Samoa, Tonga, Niuē, Futuna, Uvea, Fakaofo, Fotuna, Moiki.
2	**niho**	Nukuoro, Aniwa, Maori, Tahiti, Hawaii, Marquesas, Rapanui, Mangareva, Paumotu, Manahiki.
3	**nitcho**	Sikaiana.
4	**nio**	Mangaia, Rarotonga.
5	**ngiho**	Nuguria.
6	**nifan**	Onin.
7	**niho**	Ulawa, Saa, Bululaha, Buka.
8	**nihena**	Roro.
9	**niwo**	Awalama.
10	**niuwo**	Tavara.
11	**niou**	Iai.
12	**nyo**	Lifu.
13	**nibo**	Mukawa.
14	**nise**	Kabadi.
15	**nisan**	Nokón.
16	**nike**	Pokau.
17	**ni'e**	Mekeo.
18	**ni**	Panaieti.
19	**nini**	Tubetube, Misima.
20	**nungi**	Tagula.
21	**ngise**	Pala.
22	**lifo**	Fagani.
23	**liho**	Buka, Ugi, Bougainville.
24	**livo**	Alite, Vaturanga, Nggela, Bierian, Epi, Wuvulu, Aua, Paluán, Leut, Nakanai.
25	**livon**	Siassi.
26	**liwo**	Arag, Graget.
27	**lewo**	Motlav.
28	**liwoi**	Mota, Maewo.
29	**liwun**	Rook.
30	**luvo**	Admiralty.
31	**luón**	Bilibili.
32	**lung**	Jabim.
33	**riho**	Wango.
34	**ribo**	Malekula.
35	**hise**	Motu.
36	**ike**	Doura.
37	**igeo**	Uni.
38	**oke**	Galavi, Boniki.
39	**ivo**	Taupota, Wedau.
40	**nifoa**	Matabello.
41	**nify**	Malagasy.
42	**nifin**	Chamorro.
43	**nihi**	Manatolo, Sula.
44	**nihan**	Kisa.
45	**nichi**	Bouton.
46	**nissy**	East Vaiqueno.
47	**nissin**	West Brissi.
48	**nipun**	Magindano.
49	**knipan**	Kayan.
50	**ngisi**	Subanu.
51	**ngipin**	Tagalog.
52	**ngipon**	Visayan.

The available data from the three Oceanic areas have been here arrayed upon the basis of the changes which are found to have taken place in the initial consonant. In Polynesia and Indonesia these are very slight, **n**–**ng** in 5, 50, 51, and 52. This is a mutation from lingual backward to palatal, of great frequency in the nasals of these languages. The **kn** of Kayan (49) is anomalous. With the excessive variety of the initial in the Melanesian areas we need not engage, for it does not enlighten us upon any problems of the Malayan and the Polynesian at this point. In like manner we note the persistence of the former vowel **i** and therefore need not consider Melanesia.

The second consonant **f** exhibits great variety and presents problems. We find the **f** in 1, all Proto-Samoan Languages and confined to Nuclear Polynesia, including two of the languages of the Western Verge and omitting three. In Melanesia this **f** occurs but in two languages (6, 22), in Indonesia but three times (41 the extreme western offshoot of the Malayan, 40 and 42 extreme eastern offshoots). Labial mutants

do not appear in Polynesia. Indonesia shows but one such mutant, **f–p,** spirant to mute and both surd, in 48, 49, 51, and 52. In Melanesia this mutation is found in 13 and 34; but there are other labial mutants, **f–v,** surd spirant to sonant spirant, in 24, 25, 30, and 39; **f–w,** spirant to semivowel proximate to the labial tract, in 9, 10, 26, 27, 28, and 29; to extinction along this channel in 11, 12, and 31.

In our next group of mutations we find the result in the aspirate. At this point I must renew attention upon the fact that speech has three aspirates, one proximate to each of the three tracts of speech organs. It is a breathing always, almost formless, not dependent upon palate, tongue or lips for its production, therefore not to be set in palatal, lingual or labial series but in close juxtaposition thereto. We find mutation to an aspiration near the labial, **f–h,** in Polynesia 2, all Tongafiti languages except Nukuoro, a secondary Samoan, and Aniwa, best regarded as secondary to some undetermined language of Nuclear Polynesia; in 5, one of the islands of the Western Verge, I hope to show that this aspiration is not labial. Through this channel we find the extinction of the second consonant in 4, both Tongafiti languages. Now let us examine 3, the *nitcho* of Sikaiana, an island of the Western Verge, and compare with it *nichi* of Bouton in the Celebes subprovince of Malaysia. This **tch** is a lingual, therefore not to be considered a mutation product from **f** labial, for such mutation *extra seriem* is not to be considered when another explanation is possible. In Subanu *ngisi* we have another lingual, and it is at least interesting that the initial consonant **ng** also occurs in Nuguria (5), a near neighbor of Sikaiana. It is true that *nitcho–ngiho* differ in the final vowel from *ngisi*, but that amounts to little since in 41 and 42 we have *nify* and *nifin*, undoubted congeners of *nifo*. We are justified in the conclusion that there were two primal stems *nifo(i)* and *ngisi(o);* the fact that we have one in Malagasy and Chamorro, the other in Subanu, shows that they were at least of equal currency in the earliest period. The forms with **s** are found in 46 and 47 in Indonesia, in 14, 15, 21, and 35 in Melanesia, and in Polynesia are absent. The mutation **s–tch** is well established in the labial series; we find it here in 45, and that should be sufficient to set *nitcho* of Sikaiana as an **s**–derivative. The most common mutation of the sibilant is the weakening to the juxtaposed aspiration, **s–h**. Beginning in the Indonesian region, where we have first found the *ngisi* stem, we identify **s–h** mutants in 43 and 44, which are in the neighborhood of the Subanu, therefore archetypal in this region. In Melanesia we shall find the geography of the **s** and the **h** forms instructive. We find *ngise* in Pala, *nise* in Kabadi and *nisan* in Nokón, all in the gateway through the Bismarck Archipelago where the Samoa Stream made exit into the Pacific. Next we find *niho* (7) in Ulawa, Saa, Bululaha, Buka, all just at the portal in the Solomon Islands, and *liho* (23) in Buka, Ugi and Bougainville, and *riho* at Wango, in the same chain of islands along the

course of the Samoa Stream. Next in our two stations of the Polynesian Verge, not far to windward offshore of the Solomons, we find in Sikaiana *nitcho* an indisputable **s**–mutant, and by proximity we deem Nuguria *ngiho* (with its patent initial resemblance to the Subanu) an **s**–**h** mutant. Against this plain reading of the record we are to set the occurrence of **s** forms in *hise* (35) at Motu and a secondary *nihena* (8) at Roro, both in the Torres Strait, which is on other grounds well established as the gateway of the Viti Stream. These two instances need cause no serious hindrance to the acceptation of this interpretation.

The second vowel falls into two groups, **o** and its derivatives, **i** and its derivatives. For **o** we have a complete accord throughout Polynesia; in Melanesia in 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, and 39, and the **u**-variant in 29, and a less common **a**-variant in 6 and 15; in Indonesia we find **o** in 40 and 52, the **u**-variant in 48, the **a**-variant in 44 and 49. Of the **i** group we find no trace in Polynesia; in Melanesia we have it in its **e**-variant in 8, 14, 16, 17, 21, 35, 36, and 38; in Indonesia we find **i** in 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 50, and 51.

Last of all we examine the data for traces of a final consonant. In Polynesia with its open type we find no suggestion of an anterior closed stem. In Indonesia a final **n** is exhibited in 42, 44, 47, 48, 49, 51, and 52. We find the same **n** in Melanesia in 6, 8, 15, 25, 29, 31, and 32. There can be little doubt that one or both of the primal stems was closed with this consonant.

61. **niu** coconut; Subanu **niugao** coconut grove. P. W. 390.

niu Samoa, Tonga, Fakaofo, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Viti, Rotumā, Fotuna, Nukuoro, Nuguria, Moiki, Maori, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Tongarewa, Hawaii, Paumotu, Mangareva, Rapanui, Marquesas.
nu Mangaia.

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niu Kowamerara, Tatau, Barriai, Namatote, Saa, Lobo, Sesake, Epi, Arag, Ulawa, Wango, Fagani, Bululaha, Vaturanga, Nggela, Bugotu, Motu, Kabadi, Pokau, Doura, Sinaugoro, Keapara, Hula, Galoma, Mugula, Suau, Sariba, Tubetube, Panaieti, Nada, Dobu, Port Moresby, Mannam, Moánus, Lifu, Solomon Islands.
niyu Karufa.
nihu Misima.
niwi Areimoa.
neu Buka.
liu Alite.
niura Mukawa.
neura Awalama, Taupota.
diura Kwagila.
rura Kubiri, Kiviri.
nu Nengone, Nifilole.
nuia Kiriwina.
luia Kiriwina.
ni New Caledonia.

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niu Bima, Uap.
nju Dayak.
nyu Salibabo.
ĩnyug Bontoc Igorot.
nihu Malagasy.
nior Malay.
niula Gah.
nier Liang.
niwer Ceram.
niwel Ceram.
niwi Cajeli, Wayapo, Massaratty, Amblaw.
nimel Ceram.
nimil Lariko.
nikwel Ceram.
niweli Batumerah, Caimarian.
liweli Awaiya.
nuelo Teluti.
luen Wahai.
nu Java.
nui Sulu.
nuim Ahtiago.
nua Tobo.
nur Malay.
niyog Bicol, Bontoc Igorot.
niugao Subanu.

The most frequent of these forms is the *niu* of all three Oceanic areas and its immediate derivatives. A *nu* type is found in Mangaia alone of Polynesia, in Nengone and Nifilole of Melanesia, and in Java of Indonesia. In each of the latter the derivatives of *nu* may readily be recognized. In *ni*, ascribed to New Caledonia, where a multiplicity of languages exists, we may have no more than a variant of the Nengone *nu*, **u–i** being well recognized among the vocalic mutations. From *niu* to *nu* we find a feasible series of transition forms in Torres Strait, *niura* to *diura* to *rura*, save that at the last we find no explanation for the loss of **i** any more than we can comprehend the same loss as between *niu* and *nu* in their simple form.

Reverting to the *ni* type, for which I have already suggested the possibility of vocalic mutation, it is worthy of closer examination. If *ni* were primal and carried such sense as to the logical powers of these primitive folk suggested a genus, then it might be possible to regard *niu* as composite of *ni* and *u*, the latter being too formless for us now to venture to interpret. In Mangareva we have an interesting pair of coconut words; *ni–u* is used of the young palm, *ni–kau* when it has grown up. But we are able to identify *kau;* it is the general term for tree (cf. item 30); therefore *nikau* is clearly the *ni*–tree; by analogy *niu* should be the *ni–aliquid*, an indefiniteness which we can not yet resolve. Disregarding a terminal consonant or even additional syllable, we find for this second member of the word, *u, hu, yu, o, yo, e, we, wi.* Of these the *y*–forms are susceptible of ready explanation: *nyu* amounts to no more than variety of transliteration of *niu;* in *niyog* the **y** represents the glide of the vowel from the palatal position of **i** to the labial position of **o**. Conversely the aspiration in *nihu* represents the purposeful interruption of such glide. When we pass through **o** to **e**, a mutation series which is well established, we find a group of forms in Ceram which exhibit marked changes. For *niwel* we have abundant support in several languages. From *niwel* to *nimel* is supported by Lariko in Amboyna; since the semivowel **w** is close to the lips and **m** is the labial nasal the mutation lies within the same series. But we are left without any accounting for the intrusive palatal mute in *nikwel.* At present the resolution of this tangle eludes us.

62. **pe, po** interrogative particles; Subanu **ba** id.

pe Samoa, Futuna, Hawaii.
be Tonga.
pee Uvea.
po Samoa, Futuna, Niuē.

be Efaté.

ba Subanu, Visayan.

This particle is in wider Polynesian use, but with a variation in sense. As interrogative it is restricted to Nuclear Polynesia and the Proto-Samoan; in the Tongafiti languages it is but a disjunctive particle. The Efaté is an interesting link between the Philippines and Nuclear Polynesia.

63. **pepelo** a lie; Subanu **balos** id.

These may properly be associated for the present, although affiliates are nowhere to be found. The Proto-Samoan stem we find to be *pelong* in Samoan *pelongia* of the objective aspect; therefore we may not make the identification with *balos* positive in the absence of transition forms, but it warrants consideration.

64. **pili** lizard; Visayan **tabili** a large newt.

pili Samoa, Futuna. | **bili** Tonga.

We find this stem narrowly restricted to Nuclear Polynesia. The Visayan is evidently a composite upon the same stem. In *alimango* (item 6) we have a still more noteworthy instance of the community of animal names between these widely sundered regions.

65. **po** night, calendar day; Subanu **labong** yesterday, **lalabong** afternoon, P. W. 330.

po Samoa, Fakaofo, Niuē, Uvea, Fotuna, Tahiti, Manahiki, Futuna, Maori, Hawaii, Mangaia, Marquesas, Mangareva, Rapanui, Nukuoro, Paumotu, Nuguria, Sikaiana.
pongis Samoa.
pongi Samoa, Nukuoro.
ko–po Aniwa.
popo Bukabuka.
bo Tonga, Nuguria, Sikaiana.
boni Rotumā.
mbongi Viti.

bungi Java, Salayer.
bo–etta Macassar.
po–garagara Teor.
caha–pon Visayan.
bangi Macassar.
bengi Minahassa.
wengi Minahassa.

We have no difficulty in tracing successive stages of this vocable from *po* to *pong* to *pongi* to *pongis*. These are all found in Polynesia, in Indonesia we lack *pongis*. In this fullest form the stem has the appearance of a composite; we are not able to resolve it accurately, yet there is some reason to regard *po* as primal in the sense of dark.

66. **punga** coral; Visayan **apog** lime.

punga Samoa, Futuna, Niuē, Rapanui, Mangareva, Maori.
puna Hawaii, Marquesas.
puka Marquesas.
pua Tahiti, Paumotu.
bunga Tonga.
vunga Viti.

The form variety is easily disposed of. We recognize in these southern Philippine languages the employment of *a* (*ca*) prefixed in the sense of a noun determinant; the mutation from nasal to mute in the palatal series is exhibited in one of the Marquesan forms. The sense may readily be brought into harmony; these peoples had long since known the art of obtaining lime by burning the coral; in Hawaii, Rapanui, and Niuē the same word does duty for the raw material and for the product.

67. **pupula** to shine; Subanu **bulan** moon, month. P. W. 329.

pupula Niuē.
vula Viti.
hula Rotumā.

pura Angadi, Mimika.
pul Umre, Leut.
bura Lakahia.
bulo Uni.
bol Leng.
mbul Moánus.
buia Umi.
bue Keapara, Galoma.
furan Lobo, Mairassis.
fule Graget.
vula Nggela, Belaga, Marina, Arag, Mota, Vaturanga, Bugotu, Pokau.
vule Omba.
vuia Pokau.
vul Merlav, Gog, Lakon.
wula Maewo.
wuran Namatote.
wol Vuras, Mosin, Motlav, Volow.
wui Rubi.
hura Wango.

huia Doura.
hua Motu.
uran Karufa, Utanata.

pulan Chamorro.
pula Uap.
bulan Malay, Ilocano, Subanu.
bolan Visayan.
bulang Tringanu.
bula Kaili.
buran Ceram.
burang Solor.
bulam Molucca.
fulan Aru.
fula Rotti.
furan Lobo.
funan Timor.
fuya Togean.
fūan Bontoc Igorot.
wulan Gilolo, Solor.
wura Bima.
huran Ceram.
ulan Magindano.
ulang Kisa.
ulano Ceram.

The primal sense is that of shining, more particularly of a white light, a sense which predominates in the Polynesian of each migration. In the Pacific at present the moon word is *masina*, a conditional of *sina* white. That *pulan* is the earlier word is exhibited by the completeness of its series out of the Malay seas through Melanesia and into Nuclear Polynesia.

68. **pusi** to puff; Subanu **boi** to fire a gun.

pusi Futuna.
puhi Niuē, Maori, Hawaii, Marquesas, Mangareva, Rapanui, Paumotu.
pupuhi Uvea, Tahiti.
pupui Rarotonga.
bubuhi Tonga.

busi Efaté.
vus Mota.

ambus Malay.
bohi Visayan.
boi Subanu.

The Subanu signification is a particular and, of course, a modern one. The general sense of blowing and puffing runs through all these affiliates and occurs in Polynesian of each migration; the identifications in Efaté and Mota show that it accompanied the Proto-Samoans in their earlier wandering down through the Melanesian chains.

69. **sala** to err; Subanu **sala** id.

sala Samoa, Futuna.
hala Tonga, Niuē, Uvea.
dhala Viti.
hara Rapanui, Marquesas, Tahiti, Maori.
ara Mangareva, Rarotonga.

sala Tagalog, Subanu, Visayan.
salah Malay.
hala Malagasy, Kayan, Java, Kisa.

Students of comparative morality may find a certain interest in the evidence borne by this word that the conviction of sin was not introduced by the missionaries. Even primitive savages have recognized that to wander and to go astray from such standards as they had was a wandering of the soul, a sin. The use of the word in the Maori is clear

evidence that it was possible, though thrillingly dangerous, to sin against the tabu. In the Indonesian affiliates noted under *hala* the moral sense has advanced yet one stage beyond the actual fact of sin; these words mean, in order, "hated, detested," "guilty," "base, mean," "wrong." From the mere fact of delinquency the connotation has begun to particularize the estimate in which the delinquent is held by the right-living majority of his community.

70. **selu** a comb; Visayan **solod** id. P. W. 218.

selu Samoa, Futuna, Nukuoro.
seru Nukuoro, Fotuna, Viti.
helu Tonga, Uvea.
hetu Niuē.

saru Mannam (New Guinea).

sisir Malay.
solod Visayan.

In Nuclear Polynesian and the islands of the Verge this is found particularized as a noun; the general verb sense of scratching is met with in Polynesia in both migration streams.

71. **sulu** to enter; Subanu **solot** id. P. W. 405.

sulu Samoa, Futuna, Nukuoro.
suru Fotuna, Nukuoro.
hulu Tonga, Niuē.
huru Rapanui.
uru Rapanui, Tahiti, Mangareva.
uu Marquesas.

dhuru Viti.

julok Malay.
juluka Malagasy.
solot Subanu.
solod Visayan.

In the former note on this vocable I pointed out the fact that in Polynesian we find traces of the stem as closed in **f, m** and **n.** We now find it in Indonesia as closed in **k** and in **t.** Probably these forms are homogenetic, but we have not yet sufficient data whereupon to base a determination of the primal stem.

72. **sulu** a torch; Subanu **sulu** id. P. W. 247.

sulu Samoa, Futuna.
hulu Tonga, Niuē.
huru Maori.

sulu Subanu.
suluh Malay, Java.
soló Visayan.
sĭl-lŭ Bontoc Igorot.

Additional to the torch sense, which is found in Indonesia and in Samoa, Tonga, Niuē, Baki, and Motu, we have the abstract meaning of shine, which is found concurrently with the torch sense in Samoa, Tonga, and Niuē, and exclusive thereof in Futuna and Maori.

73. **susu** the breast; Visayan **soso** the breast, to suck. P. W. 410.

susu Samoa, Futuna.
huhu Tonga, Niuē, Uvea, Nuguria.
sudhu Viti.

susu Malay, Java, Bugis, Pampangas, Macassar, Chamorro, Kai.
suso Tagalog.
soso Visayan, Bontoc Igorot.

susan Matu.
sus Waigiou.
usok Kayan.
dughan Visayan.
tusún Siassi.
thuth Uap.
tutu Gorontalo, Bunda.

I have not here sought to distinguish the three senses carried by this word, the breast, the milk, and to suck, for that has already been discussed at length at the place cited in the note.

74. **susunu** to burn; Visayan **sonog** to set afire. P. W. 407.

sunu Samoa, Futuna, Viti.
hunu Tonga, Niuē, Uvea, Maori.

sunu To Bungku, To Mori.
sonog Visayan.
ishūnok Bontoc Igorot.

Other problems of interesting variants upon this stem have been examined in *The Polynesian Wanderings, loc. cit.* In this particular form we find a close filiation between the Philippines and Nuclear Polynesia with its Proto-Samoan peopling.

75. **tae** excrement; Subanu **tee** id. P. W. 414.

tae Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Moriori.
te Niuē.
tee Tonga.
nda Viti.
nde Viti.

tae Visayan, Magindano, Bontoc Igorot.
tai Malay, Macassar, Klemantan.
tay Malagasy.
tee Subanu.

In continuation of the former note upon the use of this obscene word as a proper name I find an interesting case reported by Hose and McDougall from the Klemantans of Borneo. Children remain unnamed during their infancy in order that they may escape the notice of evil spirits, and when at last a name has been given they are long addressed by *tai* in order that these spirits may incline to leave them alone.

76. **tali** rope; Subanu **tali** id. P. W. 414.

tali Nukuoro.
ndali Viti.

tali Malay, Subanu, Chamorro.
tadi Malagasy.
tal Uap.

We have increased the former note by no new items from Polynesia, but the three Indonesian additions are not without significance, for the Subanu, the Chamorro, and the Uap represent an extreme easterly sweep of migration and are therefore to be regarded as archetypal.

77. **talinga** ear; Subanu **talinga** id. P. W. 415.

talinga Samoa, Fakaofo, Futuna, Uvea, Nukuoro.
kau-talina Sikaiana.
ndalinga Viti.
taninga Nukuoro.
tanginga Moiki.
telinga Tonga, Niuē.
taringa Maori, Rarotonga, Paumotu, Rapanui, Manahiki, Aniwa, Fotuna.
tarina Nuguria.
teringa Mangareva.
tiringa Moriori.
karinga Liueniua.
faliang Rotumā.
aina Marquesas.

talinga Malay, Bouton, Dayak, Visayan, Subanu.
talingan Java, Basakrama.
talingo Menankabau.
talinhe Satawal.
talenga Ulea.
talanga Chamorro.
talina Ceram.

tainga Sulu, Tagalog.
tadiny Malagasy.
kâling Kolon.
karin Teor.
tali Uap.
toli Macassar.
telinga Malay, Sula, Baju.
telingan Wayapo.
telina Morella.
telinawa Batumerah.
telila Cajeli.
teninare Wahai.
tengeh Silong.
tarina Ceram.
terina Liang, Lariko.
terinamo Awaiya.
terinam Caimarian.
terena Saparua.
lô-jilingo Marshall Islands.
tjuling Bugis.
linga North Borneo.
lingah Matu.
linganani Massaratty.
dalonggan Visayan.

In the Indonesian series of affiliates we note mutation in two directions which are contradictory of one another so far as they may be expected to yield the primal stem of this manifestly composite vocable. Superficially *talinga* has the appearance of a verbal noun formed by the suffix *nga* proper to that sense applied to a stem *tali*, of which we have no knowledge beyond this hypothesis. In Uap and Macassar we find simple forms *tali* and *toli*, which seem to bear upon this point. On the other hand we find a group of three forms in which *linga* is the theme, a suggestion that this is the primal stem rather than *tali*. No decision upon this point is yet possible. Of the alternative Visayan form *dalonggan* Fray Juan Félix notes the derivation from *dongog* to hear. This is a somewhat violent infixature in Visayan; it would never have suggested itself if this lexicographer had had a glimpse at the exterior history of the word.

78. **talo** to pray; Subanu **taló** to speak. P. W. 236.

tatalo	Samoa, Futuna, Tonga.	**tatao**	Marquesas.
taro	Rapanui, Tahiti, Nukuoro, Viti.	**kalo**	Hawaii.

The Proto-Samoan stem is discovered to be *taros*, which we should expect to find preserved in the Subanu; perhaps the accent upon the ultima is compensatory for the loss of the final consonant. The sense association involves difficulties. In all the Polynesian the signification is that of asking the higher powers for a boon, some good for him who asks or evil upon his neighbor. In Viti the sense of "prevent" is associable only as the answer to prayer, for there is strongly marked a desire for prophylaxis in most orisons. That the word in Subanu, if indeed the affiliation be tenable, has come to mean no more than to speak, requires a more spiritual comprehension of the theology of the savage than we are able to supply.

79. **tama** father; Subanu **gama** id. P. W. 272.

tamā	Samoa, Fakaofo.	**a'mam**	Cajeli.
tama	Aniwa, Viti.	**amâi**	Ahtiago.
tamai	Tonga, Uvea.	**amaeolo**	Teluti.
tamana	Futuna, Sikaiana, Fotuna, Nuguria, Nukuoro.	**amao**	Amblaw.
		amana	Bouton.
		iama	Menado.
tamá	Gilbert Islands.	**yaman**	Sanguir.
tama	Klemantan.	**jaman**	Tobo.
amà	Sasak.	**kiamat**	Bolanghitam.
âma	Bima.	**mama**	Gah.
ama	Visayan, Bontoc Igorot, Kolon, Salayer, Liang, Lariko, Teor, Saparua, Awaiya, Caimarian, Wahai.	**mām**	Mysot.
		nāma	Wayapo.
		náama	Massaratty.
a'ma	Morella.	**gama**	Subanu.

In the father sense *tamā* is wholly Proto-Samoan. In the later migration *tama* is a composition member of such words as *tamaloa* man and *tamaiti* child. The latter is instructive. As *iti* means little the com-

posite signifies "little *tama*." So with *tamafafine*, this means "woman *tama*." It is highly improbable that any simple minds could think of calling a child, little father; it is inconceivable that a girl could be spoken of as a female father with its clear contradiction in terms. In the later migration, therefore, *tama* means no more than human being. In the rude society of the earlier migration it is quite possible that society was recognized as consisting of human beings and women; therefore the word would acquire largely a male connotation; then particularly the head of the family unit; thence, in view of his function, father.

There is one great problem in the study of the form of the vocable. Subanu *gama* is readily seen to be the common Indonesian *ama* with its own characteristic noun-formative prefix. All Polynesia has the *tama* form, practically all Indonesia has *ama;* in Melanesia the two are about equal in occurrence and they are found indifferently in neighboring communities. I regard *tama* as primal, principally for the reason that I have found it in the Klemantan of North Borneo. In many details these pagan tribes of the great island show much in common with the Subanu and they are recognized as preserving many of the words of an archetypal Malayan.

80. **tatou** we (inclusive); Visayan **quita** id.

da	Viti.
ta–tou	Samoa, Futuna, Uvea, Maori, Rarotonga, Mangareva, Tahiti, Paumotu, Rapanui.
aipeki–ta–tou	Aniwa.
tau–tolu	Tonga, Niuē.
da–tou	Viti.
ka–kou	Hawaii.
ta	Arag, Pokau, Awalama, Taupota, Wedau, Galavi, Mukawa, Kwagila, Kubiri, Raqa.
gi–ta	Arag, Marina, Bugotu, Ngao, Barriai.
ngi–ta	Aneityum.
hi–ta	Vaturanga.
i–ta	Epi.
ge–t	Lakon, Vanua Lava.
da	Omba, Maewo, Motu, Suau, Sariba, Kiriwina, Dobu, Nada.
gi–da	Maewo.
ni–da	Sesake.
da–ga	Lo.
gi–de	Omba.
i–de	Nifilole.
di	Murua.
d	Merlav.
ge–d	Motlav.
gi–d	Merlav, Gog, Volow.
d–at	Duke of York.
ka	Waima, Roro, Kabadi.
'a	Mekeo.
ra	Sinaugoro, Hula, Keapara, Galoma, Rubi, Panaieti.
la	Sinaugoro, Tubetube.
ta–lau	Matu.
qui–ta	Visayan.

This pronoun is properly to be correlated with the exclusive *matou* of item 57. In studying out the migration tracks it will be found interesting to compare the geography of the *gita* type here with the *kama* type of the former. It will be seen that Polynesia has had the primal *ma* and *ta* and has developed them along a system proper to that family; but in Melanesia it has been closely followed by a stream of migration from some center possessed of the *gita* and *kama* personal pronouns, a stream which fed the Visayas northward and Melanesia southward, and in the latter direction the occurrence of this form at Barriai shows the course north of New Guinea in contrast with the

simple forms of Torres Strait. The two primals *ma* and *ta* afford an excellent example of the coefficient value of consonantal modulants.

81. **tifa** pearl shell; Visayan **tipay** mother-of-pearl.

tifa	Samoa, Futuna, Niuē, Sikaiana.	**dhiva**	Viti.
jifa	Tonga.		

82. **tinā** mother; Subanu **guina, ina** id.

tinā	Samoa.	**tinan**	Klemantan.
tina	Viti.	**tinâno**	Rumbia.
tinana	Futuna, Sikaiana.	**tiwâno**	Maronene.
tinga	Futuna.	**inà**	Sasak.
jina	Tonga.	**ina**	Subanu, Bontoc Igorot, Teor, Tihu, Kolon, Bima, Amblaw, Liang, Lariko, Saparua, Caimarian, Awaiya, Wahai.
kina	Liueniua.	**inai**	Klemantan, Ahtiago.
tiná	Graget.	**inahán**	Visayan.
tina	Marina, Vaturanga, Nggela, New Georgia, Rubi, Tagula.	**guina**	Subanu.
tînang	Leut.	**inâna**	Bouton.
tînong	Umre.	**inany**	Menado, Dorey.
tsitsina–nggu	Vitu.	**inúngi**	Sanguir.
tnágn	Barriai.	**inano**	Mengkoka.
zina	Uni.	**inânu**	Muna.
sina	Pokau, Doura, Motu, Sinaugoro, Suau, Sariba, Tubetube, Nada, Dobu, Mukawa.	**inamo**	Cajeli.
hina	Panaieti, Tavara, Awalama.	**inao**	Morella, Batumerah.
hinana	Roro.	**inau**	Teluti.
inna	Mekeo.	**neina**	Wayapo, Massaratty.
ina	Wango, Fagani, Hula, Keapara, Galoma, Misima, Kiriwina, Murua, Oiun.	**aina**	Tobo.
		nina	Gah, Matabello.
		nin	Mysot.

As in the case of *tamā* (item 79) the Klemantan preserves for us in Indonesia the initial **t.** Although some of the details are obscure, the general range of the variants is not difficult to follow. This vocable also is Proto-Samoan.

83. **tinae** intestines; Subanu **tinee** id.

tinae	Samoa, Futuna, Mangareva.	**tinai**	Mota.

In Polynesia this rare word is found but at three points. Its occurrence at Mota, central in respect of the Melanesian area, suggests that when more complete vocabularies come within our reach we may be able to trace it elsewhere in that intermediary region. I can not refrain from a note that *tinae* of the Polynesian suggests an infix in this solitary instance, one which we can not parallel in that extended family. This is a mere suggestion. If it were accepted it would be the sole evidence that the Malayans have exerted any influence upon the Polynesian. The infixature will appear as **t**: *in*: **ae** and refers in form and in sense to *tae*, item 75.

84. **tongo** mangrove; Visayan **tongog** id.

tongo	Samoa, Tonga.	**ndongo**	Viti.

85. **tui** chief; Subanu **tuan** master. P. W. 225.

tui	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Viti.	**tuan**	Subanu, Kayan, Malay.
		tuhan	Malay.
		tuwan	Malay.

In Nuclear Polynesian this word scarcely exists independently, but is extremely frequent in combination with some place name or other designation determining the sphere of governing activity. Thus we have Tui Levuka, the chief of Levuka on the island of Ovalau in Fiji; in Tonga we find the priest-king Tui Tonga and the civil king Tui Kanokupolu, in which the designation is not of a known place, although it smacks of 'Upolu in Samoa. I recall but a single instance where Tui is used absolutely; it occurs in the Samoan legend of Timuatea, a peopling myth.

Ona igoa ai lea 'o le tama matua ia Tuimanu'a, 'a e igoa le teine ia Le Malumanu'a, 'a 'ua lēigoa le teine itiiti. Ona alu ane lea 'o le fai mea e 'ai, 'o Alamisi, 'ua alu 'ia Le Malumanu'a. Ona fanau ai lea 'o Tui, toe fanau 'o Tui, toe fanau 'o Tui. A fai 'o le alo o Tui ai e tali 'atoa le selau o lenei vao Tui. Ona 'avea ai lea e Tuisamau ma ona uso o le ā o e tufa le vao Tui.

The eldest son they named King-of-Manu'a, and the maiden was named Shade-of-Manu'a, but nameless was the little maid. Then came along he who made the things to eat, Alamisi; he went to the Shade of-Manu'a. Then King was born, again King was born, again King was born. When the birth of Kings was accomplished belike there was pretty near a hundred in this grove of Kings. They were carried away by King-fast-fixed and his brethren who were to go to allot this grove of Kings.

The context shows that this employment of Tui absolute is regarded as merely anticipatory, for the voyage goes on to set these kings in Tonga and Fiji and other lands of Nuclear Polynesia. The designation is never used vocatively in address in the absolute form but is replaced by *ali'i;* in this it is paralleled by the English use of earl and my lord.

86. **tui** to sew; Visayan **tahí** id.

tui Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Viti, Maori, Mangareva, Paumotu, Tahiti, Marquesas.
kui Hawaii.

tahi Tagalog, Visayan.
jahit Malay.

The identification is not so close as most of those in this series and I am by no means confident of its validity; the change of the former vowel is rather more extensive than is common and the presence of the aspiration in the Indonesian is difficult to account for. I include it in this series more through generosity than from conviction.

87. **tulu** to drip; Subanu **tolo, tolu** id. P. W. 425.

tulu Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē.
turu Viti, Nukuoro, Fotuna, Maori, Rapanui, Tahiti, Mangareva.
kulu Hawaii.

tolo Subanu, Visayan.
tolu Subanu.
jurus Malay.

88. **tumu** to be full; Subanu **toman** id.

tumu Samoa.

jumu Malay.
toman Subanu

The word is excessively rare in Polynesian, Samoa alone retains it; but the identification is satisfactory.

89. **uha** rain; Visayan **olan** id. P. W. 322.

uha	Tonga, Niuē.
ua	Samoa, Fakaofo, Futuna, Uvea, Fotuna, Nuguria, Maori, Tahiti, Hawaii, Rarotonga, Marquesas, Mangareva, Rapanui, Manahiki, Tikopia.
udha	Vit.
uas	Rotumā.
oha	Bolanghitam.
usan	Kayan.
uan	Gah.
huya	Sula.
ulah	Amblaw.
ulan	Gani, Wahai, Salu, Timor, Tobo, Ambon, Ceram, Makian.
olan	Visayan.
hulan	Liang, Morella.
ulane	Awaiya, Ambon.
ulani	Cajeli, Caimarian.
hulani	Batumerah.
ulano	Minahassa.
ulanu	Bual.
ura	Ende.
hura	Galela.
uran	Tidore, Pampangas, Solor, Sikka, Minahassa, Ambon, Ceram.
huran	Baju.
haran	Lariko.
urana	Ceram.
hurani	Teor.
orana	Malagasy.
urano	Ambon.
urang	Bugis.
urong	Salibabo.
udjan	Togean, Minahassa.
ūtchan	Chamorro.
ōtjan	Bontoc Igorot.
hujan	Malay, Sandol.
uda	Kaili, Minahassa.
udan	Rotti, Minahassa, Bontoc Igorot.
hudan	Java.
udama	Matabello.
ut	Mille.
nu	Uap.

Only in a few spots does Indonesia preserve the primal stem of this word, in Menado of north Celebes and in Ceram, and with the minimum of mutation in the tongue of the Kayans in North Borneo, a region of the early settlement of the Malayan races. Beyond these few points we have a long line of mutants which become simple of comprehension when we observe that the range is up and down the lingual column.

90. **ufi** yam; Subanu **ubi** an edible tuber. P. W. 316.

ufi	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Aniwa, Sikaiana, Fotuna.
uvi	Viti.
uwhi	Maori.
uhi	Nukuoro, Maori, Moiki, Tahiti, Hawaii, Mangareva, Rapanui, Paumotu, Marquesas.
ui	Mangaia, Rarotonga.
ubi	Malay, Malagasy, Subanu.
uvi	Kayan.
uwi	Java, Kisa, Kolon, Bima.
obi	Visayan, Tagalog.
ove	Kayan.
ovy	Malagasy.

In the Indian archipelago the sense lacks specific character; it is the yam where that plant occurs; elsewhere it is the sweet potato; in other cases it is defined as an edible tuber in general. But there can be no doubt about the identity of the word.

91. **uila** lightning; Subanu **guilat** id. P. W. 345.

uhila	Tonga, Niuē, Uvea.
uila	Samoa, Fakaofo, Futuna, Sikaiana, Nuguria, Rarotonga, Hawaii.
uira	Tahiti, Mangaia, Maori, Nukuoro, Rapanui, Manahiki, Moriori.
uia	Marquesas.
liva	Viti.
uila	Kisa.
kuilat	Pani.
quilat	Visayan.
kuirlat	Tagalog.
guilat	Subanu.
chalirit	Java.
kila	Tidore.
kilat	Malay.

92. **uli** to steer; Visayan **olin** id.

uli Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Viti.

The stem appears to interlace with *muli* the stern, in which case we shall regard the *m* of the latter as possessing coefficient value.

93. **ulu** the head; Subanu **golo** id.

ulu Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Niuē, Viti, Manahiki, Fakaofo.
uru Maori, Tahiti, Mangaia, Paumotu, Aniwa.

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ulu Nggela, Bugotu.

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ulu Salayer, Awaiya, Caimarian, Kissa, Chamorro.
ulun Wayapo.
olo Visayan, Bontoc Igorot.

golo Subanu.
olun Massaratty.
olum Cajeli.
ulo Magindano, Tagalog.
ulura Batumerah.
ulure Wahai.
ulukatim Ahtiago.
ulin Teor.
yulin Tobo.
uru Lariko, Saparua.
uruka Liang, Morella.

The *g* of Subanu *golo* is the noun-formative prefix characteristic of that speech.

94. **uta** to pay; Visayan **otang** debt. P. W. 249.

uta Niuē.
utu Maori, Marquesas, Paumotu.
utua Tahiti.
uku Hawaii.

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utang Malay, Tagalog.
otang Visayan, Bontoc Igorot.

There is a vowel difference between the Tongafiti and the Proto-Samoan, the latter being in better accord with our few identifications from Indonesia.

95. **uti** penis; Visayan **otin** id. P. W. 431.

uti Viti.
ule Samoa, Tonga, Niuē, Hawaii.
ure Maori, Rapanui, Tahiti, Mangareva, Paumotu.
oe Marquesas.

---

uti Efaté, Barriai, Emsau.
utid Siassi.
oti Ninigo.
otin Saran.
witin Siassi.
gudin Tami.
kutira Kilengge.
uting Lihir.
ut Lemusmus.
usi Motu.

usu Lalinau.
usina Kabadi.
us Pala.
u Bongu.

---

uti Rotti, Timor, Ambon, Ceram, Gorontalo, Bunda.
wuti Gorontalo, Bunda.
otin Visayan, Tagalog.
ōti Bontoc Igorot.
utien Tuburuasa.
butu Lombok.
wota Savu, Sumba.
us Karas.
ul Lamotrek.

We have here a tangle of forms, *uti*, *ule*, *use*, which we may by no means confidently reduce to a common stem; of these, *uti* occurs but once, yet significantly, in Polynesia; it occupies a moiety of Melanesia, and is the dominant form in Indonesia. The second Melanesian form *use* is not detected in Polynesia at all and occurs but once in our Malayan record. The Tongafiti *ule* is totally absent from Melanesia and Indonesia, but recurs slightly beyond the Malay Archipelago in Lamotrek.

96. **vaka** boat; Visayan **bangca** id.

vaka	Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Fakaofo, Rapanui, Paumotu, Mangareva, Marquesas, Mangaia, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Tauu, Nuguria, Sikaiana, Nukumanu, Aniwa.
vaga	Nuguria.
waka	Sikaiana, Maori.
wangga	Viti.
wanga	Aniwa.
vak	Nukumanu.
va'a	Samoa, Anuda.
vaa	Tahiti, Marquesas.
waa	Hawaii.
va	Liueniua.
ak	Rotumā.
vaka	Suau, Vaturanga, Ngela, Savo, Bugotu, Ngao, New Georgia.
vāko	Vokau.
vāgo	Vokau, Vrinagol.
vanga	Alite.
vak	Amge.
vŭăk	Malol.
vŭók	Sissano.
bŭăk	Sēr.
waka	Tobadi, Ingrau, Entsau, Suau, Galavi, Boniki, Mukawa.
waga	Barriai, Kobe, Kilengge, Jawna, Jeubi, Bo, Bisapu, Palabong, Mugula, Sariba, Tubetube, Panaieti, Tagula, Nada, Dobu, Kiriwina, Taupota, Wedau, Galavi.
oaga	Kabakaul.
wage	Ingros, Nakudukuda, Kalil.
wangga	Nakanai, Vitu, Kambangerim.
oangga	To.
wanga	Epi, Arag.
wōgă	Pire, Namarodu, Matantuduk.
wōgŏ	Labur.
wang	Lambon, Mimias.
wak	Graget.
wam	Tavara, Awalama, Taupota.
wa	Menukwari, Mokmer, Pom, Ansus, Wuvulu, Oleai, Wedau, Raqa, Kiviri, Oiun.
uá	Feis.
wai	Sorong, Menukwari, Mokmer.
faka	Fagani.
haka	Ulawa, Wango, Saa, Bululaha.
hak	Abutumete.
aka	Maewo, Mota, Duke of York, Molot.
age	Molot.
anggo	Kait.
anga	Omba.
ak	Merlav, Gog, Lakon, Sasar, Vuras, Mosin, Norbarbar.
nak	Aweleng.
eka	Lo.
ok	Pak, Alo Teqel, Motlav.
ong	Volow.
waga	Wayapo, Massaratty.
waha	Tobo.
waa	Cajeli, Amblaw.
haka	Liang, Morella, Batumerah.
banca	Tagalog.
bangca	Visayan, Pampangas.
făngka	Bontoc Igorot.
bunka	Bouton.
wangkang	Malay, Macassar.
wōg	Gani.

The great wealth of intermediary forms derived from Melanesia, in great measure from the industrious efforts of Mr. Ray and Captain Friederici in the New Guinea region, completes the chain of mutation through the three oceanic areas and leaves little to be said.

97. **vae** leg; Subanu **pa** id.

vae	Samoa, Fakaofo, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Niuē, Rapanui, Mangareva, Paumotu, Tahiti, Marquesas, Rarotonga, Tongarewa, Manahiki, Aniwa.
vee	Tonga.
ve	Niuē.
wae	Hawaii, Maori, Sikaiana.
yava	Viti.
we	Mekeo.
ae	Roro, Pokau, Doura, Kabadi, Motu, Suau, Panaieti, Dobu, Tavara, Awalama, Taupota, Wedau.
bai	Kiviri, Oiun.
hage–gunapa	Hula, Keapara.
ape	Roro.
afe	Mekeo.
ahe	Kobe.
kae	Galavi, Boniki, Mukawa, Sariba.
kaikaie	Tubetube.
kaike	Kiriwina.
nae	Bugotu.
ne	Graget.
ai	Barriai, Kilengge.
aiyi	Misima.
we	Makian.
wain	Ceram.
ae	Alfuro.
ai	Ambon.
eei	Aru.
aien	Ceram.
eik	Rotti.
ike	Ceram.
akain	Jabim.
agen	Siassi.
paa	Kolon, Visayan.
pa	Subanu.

These forms in Melanesia and Indonesia are so obscure that it will require more abundant data before they may be studied with a sense of security. I should not be surprised if it were necessary to segregate several stems here interlaced. Our present task is to extricate from this material whatever evidence may establish the filiation of the Subanu *pa* and the Polynesian word for foot or leg. The Niuē *vē* may be considered as a direct mutant of *vae* through Tongan *vee* with crasis, an interpretation supported by direct but scanty evidence in that speech. On the other hand we encounter a *we* in Melanesia and again in Indonesia; therefore this may be regarded as an ancient stem. The Viti *yava* may not be regarded as a derivative from *vae;* in *The Polynesian Wanderings* at page 319, I have given exhaustive study to the y-initial of Viti; the presence of an alternative *avae* in Tahiti points to the existence of an early *ava* which has become *yava* in Viti and in the eastern island has become colored by the greater prevalence of *vae;* for a primal *ava* we have Melanesian affiliates in *ape* and *afe*. In the same area we pass readily to *bai*, which may be comprehended as the primal *va* colored by the neighboring frequency of *ae*. Having abundant reason to regard Viti in Polynesia and Subanu-Visayan in Indonesia as preserving archetypal forms of speech, we need have no hesitation in establishing a primal *va*, with which *pa* readily affiliates.

98. **pasa** to speak; Visayan **basa** to read aloud. P. W. 191.

pasa Nukuoro.
paha Mangareva.
visau Fotuna.
vosa Viti.

vasa Sesake.
bosa Nggela.
baha Tavara, Awalama.

basa Malay, Tagalog, Visayan.

At intervals I have deemed it better to interrupt the foregoing alphabetic series in order that I might discuss in conjunction a group of ten similar vocables. In all that has gone before I have been by no means chary of directing our attention upon the psychological factors which function these linguistic problems. This group of ten vocables, lying in the Polynesian content of Melanesia as well as of Indonesia, must in the highest degree involve the psychology of the arithmetic of the savage, the mathematics of fingers and toes of the bare man. The physical association of the mathematics and the mathematician is a matter of observation and record:

> In counting any objects that can not be held in the hand or placed in a row the Kayan (and most of the other peoples) bends down one finger for each object told off or enumerated, beginning with the little finger of the right hand, passing at six to that of the left hand, and then to the big toe of the right foot, and lastly to that of the left foot. (Hose and McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. 2, page 210.)

There we have the basis of all such arithmetic as we are to study in this work, fingers, one hand, two hands, the whole man—quinary, decimal, and vigesimal numeration. Through a black mass of igno-

rance, savage men whose minds had not yet devised a name for the result when to one they added another, cuts in precise knowledge the migration of the keen Polynesian race with its equipment of a perfect decimal system. We can readily comprehend how their gift of numbers was welcomed by the lowly folk whom they met upon their course to the new Pacific home. But how it has come to pass that the Malayan folk, a race of at least equal culture attainments, adopted the numerals of the fleeing Polynesians so completely is for the present a mystery beyond our powers of solution. Between decimal Polynesia and decimal Indonesia we shall find a great variety of adoption by the rude folk of the intervening Melanesia. We shall find some communities which had advanced in numeration to the possession of names for one and two and three, to which a few had added four; five seems to have come as a distinctly new concept to the most of them, for the number of these languages is enormous in which we find five to be represented by the Polynesian word for hand, *lima*. With this acquisition two-thirds of them were content, the remainder third adopted the Polynesian designation of ten, and of these last ambitious folk only a few more than half assumed the names of the intervening digits.

In our examination of this Melanesian arithmetic we shall find it convenient to follow the classification presented by Prebendary Codrington (*The Melanesian Languages*, page 235) and continued by Sidney H. Ray (*Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. III, page 470).

The lowest system is the quinary. In Uni and Eromanga we find it with Polynesian names for all five digits; in Aneityum with Polynesian 1, 2, 5; in Tanna with all five digits Polynesian and 10 represented by 5+5. Epi, Paama, and Sesake have all five Polynesian digits, $10=2\times5$; the intervening digits are represented by 1, 2, 3, 4, not additive to 5 as later we shall frequently find them, but with a prefix, *la* in Sesake, *o* in Epi and Paama. Efaté assumes the Polynesian digits 2, 3, 4, 5; $10=2\times5$; the intervening digits are the first four additive to 5, $6=5+1$.

The next group comprises the imperfect decimals, systems which count one hand to 5, count that hand plus the fingers of the second hand to 9, and possess a designation for 10. The detailed information of this class may be epitomized as follows. Unless otherwise noted 6 designates the type of all the digits 6 to 9.

Amge. Polynesian 4, 5. 6=1 and suffix.
Deni. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4. 6=1 and suffix.
Nifilole. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4. 6=1 and prefix.
Savo. Polynesian 1, 2, 4. 6=1 and prefix.
Lakon, Pak, Malekula. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=1 and prefix.
Lo, Norbarbar, Volow, Motlav, Mota, Mosin, Vuras, Gog, Merlav, Maewo, Ambrym, Vitu, Marina. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10. 6=1 and prefix.
Marina. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10. 6=1 and suffix, 7=1 and prefix.
Nakanai. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 20. 6=1 and prefix.
Barriai, Kalil. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10. 6=5+1.
Kilengge. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 10. 6=1.

Murua. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=1.
Rubi, Sinaugoro. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=5+1.
Longa. Polynesian 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=5+1.
Abutumete, Aweleng. Polynesian 4, 5, 10. 6=5+1.
Kobe. Polynesian 1, 2, 3. Incomplete list.
Graget. Polynesian 3, 4, 5. 6=5+1. 10=5×2.
Panaieti (below 10). Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=5+1. 10=2×1.
(counting tens). Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, but in strange disorder, 6 *siwa* (9), 7 *on* (6), 8 *pit* (7), 9 *ata* (10).
Misima (below 10). Polynesian 3, 4, 5. 6=5+1. 10=2×1.
(counting tens). Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, but in disorder, 5 *suwa* (9), 6 *nima* (5), 8 *won* (6).
Doura. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=5+1. 10=?2×1.
Mekeo. Polynesian 1, 2, 4, 5. 6=5+1. 10=?2×1.
Nada, Kiriwina. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6 not given.
Leng. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10. 7, minus 3; 8, minus 2; 9, minus 1.
Mouk. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 7, minus 3; 8, minus 2; 9, minus 1.
Umre. Polynesian 2, 3, 4, 10. 6, minus 4; 7, minus 3; 8, minus 2; 9, minus 1.
Leut. Polynesian 2, 3. 6, minus 4; 7, minus 3; 8, minus 2; 9, minus 1.
Motu, Kabadi, Galoma, Keakalo, Pokau. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=2×3; 7=2×3+1; 8=2×4; 9=2×4+1.
Roro, Waima. Polynesian 1, 2, 4, 5. 6=2×3; 7=2×3+1; 8=2×4; 9=2×4+1.
Hula, Keapara. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=2×3; 7=8−1; 8=2×4; 9=10−1.

The next group is composed of the languages which employ the decimal system. Most of them have adopted the Polynesian names in full; these are Nggela, Fagani, Wango, Saa, Arag, Ulawa, Omba, Laur, Lambell, King, Lamassa, Likkilikki, Mafoor. A small group, two languages in the Louisiades and two in the Solomons, employ nine Polynesian digits, but have words for 10 of their own; these are Brierly Island and Tagula, Bugotu and Nggao. Vaturanga uses all the Polynesian digits but 5, and New Georgia has 2, 5, 6, 9, 10.

The vigesimal group comprises the following languages:

Awalama, Tavara, Mukawa. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=5+1; 10=5×2.
Nengone. Polynesian 1, 2. 6=5+1. 10=2×something not 5.
Raqa, Kiviri, Oiun. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 6=5+1.
Dobu. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10. 6=5+1.
Suau. Polynesian 1, 4. 6=5+1.
Sariba. Polynesian 1, 4, 5. 6=5+1. 10=5×2.
Tubetube. Polynesian 1, 4, 10. 6=5+1.
Kubiri. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
Mugula. Polynesian 1, 4.
Boniki, Galavi. Polynesian 1, 2, 5. 4=2×2; 6=5+1; 9=5+2×2; 10=5×2.
Taupota. Polynesian 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 4, 6, 9, 10 as Boniki.
Wedau. Polynesian 1, 2, 3. 4, 6, 9, 10 as Boniki.
Kwagila. Polynesian 2. 4=2×2.
Lifu. Polynesian 1, 2, 5. 6=1+5; 10=2×5.

With this presentation of the varieties of notation, we may next pass to the study of the primal forms and mutation forms of each of the ten Polynesian digits as presented in the three island areas.

99. **tasi** one; Subanu **sa, isa** id.

1. **taha**	Tonga, Niuē.	4. **tai**	Rarotonga.
2. **tasi**	Samoa, Futuna, Fakaofo, Aniwa, Moiki.	5. **kasi**	Liueniua.
		6. **kahi**	Hawaii.
3. **tahi**	Tongarewa, Uvea, Rapanui, Mangareva, Marquesas, Tahiti, Manahiki, Maori, Sikaiana.	7. **ta**	Rotumā.
		8. **ndua**	Viti.
		9. **a**	Pak 6, Savo 6.*

*In many instances where the name of six is compacted of five and one it has been possible to find a designation for one simpler than is in use for that digit standing by itself.

10. a–ngaomo Mekeo.
11. a–buna Galoma, Keakalo.
12. e–bweuna Dobu.
13. emoti Tavara, Awalama, Taupota.
14. ere Barriai.
15. esega Suau.
16. ha Waima.
17. ha–momo Waima, Roro.
18. hibeti Moar.
19. hu Ambrym.
20. ja Deni.
21. jea Norbarbar 6.
22. jia Lo.
23. joser Dasener.
24. ka Lifu, Pokau, Kabadi, Hula.
25. ka–una Uni.
26. ka–ona Doura.
27. kahe Ngao.
28. kai Malekula.
    a. takai Lambell, King.
    b. tekai Kalil, Laur.
29. kaigeda Tubetube.
30. kaita Kubiri 6, Kiviri 6.
31. kaita–mom Kubiri, Kiviri.
32. kasi Lifu.
33. katsiu Vitu.
34. kesa Vaturanga.
35. kesana Mukawa.
36. kesega Sariba.
37. kis Masimasi.
38. ko–puna Hula.
39. meke New Georgia.
40. ngi Nifilole 6.
41. o–buna Keapara.
42. ra Nakukur, Mioko.
43. rega Tagula.
44. riti Tanna.
45. sa Nengone, Onin.
46. sago Boniki.
47. sago–kava Galavi.
48. sai Eromanga, Mafoor.
49. sakai Nggela.
50. samosi Namatote, Lobo.
51. se–bona Sinaugoro.
52. sikai Sesake, Malekula.
53. sikei Bugotu.
54. simoksi Karufa.
55. siri Wandammen.
56. ta Ulawa, Saa, Motu, Rubi.
57. ta–mona Motu.
58. tagai Fagani.
59. tagogi Wedau.
60. tai Epi, Paama, Wango.
61. tai–mona Raqa.
62. tai–monomon Oiun.
63 (tana)
    a. a–tan–ok Nada.
    b. koi–tan Murua.
    c. e–tega Panaieti.
    d. mai–sena Panaieti, Misima.
    e. ke–sana Mukawa.
64. tara Kobe.
65. tasa Nakanai.
66. tata Mohr.
67. te Gog 6, Vuras 6, Mosin 6, Motlav 6, Volow 6, Tami.
68. tea Marina, Maewo 6, Mota 6.
69. tega Panaieti, Misima.
70. tes Jamna, Kubamba.
71. tesa Efaté, Sesake.
72. tewa Maewo.
73. teya Mugula.
74. thi Aneityum.
75. tia Merlav 6.
76. paihe–tia Brierly Island.
77. tika Pala.
    a. tik Lamassa.
    b. ti Likkilikki.
78. toa Buka.
79. towa Norbarbar.
80. towal Mosin.
81. tsitsi Vitu.
82. tukse Tarfia.
83. tuwa Lakon, Arag.
84. tuwal Gog.
85. tuwale Merlav, Mota, Omba.
86. tuwel Vuras.
87. twa Volow.
88. twag Motlav.
89. wal Pāk.
90. wosio Waropin.

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91. esa Saparua, Ahtiago, Menado.
92. hasa Tihu, Mahuan.
93. hia Sulu.
94. isa Lariko, Subanu, Bontoc Igorot.
    a. lai isa Awaiya.
    b. isa iray Malagasy.
95. isai Caimarian.
96. itja Bima.
97. ja Punan.
98. ji Kayan.
99. kusa Sanguir.
100. lepso Gani.
101. nehe Iliwàki.
102. nosiuno Massaratty.
103. osa Visayan, Kolon.
104. osso Dorey.
105. sa Java, Liang, Morella, Matabello, Baju, Subanu.
106. saangu Bouton.
107. sabi Amblaw.
108. sali Wahai.
109. san Teluti, Tobo.
110. satu Malay.
111. sedri Salayer.
112. sembaow Salibabo.
113. silei Cajeli.
114. so Gah.
115. soboto Bolanghitam.
116. umsiun Wayapo.
117. wasa Batumerah.

This we find to be the most complicated of all these numerals; even upon such dissection into the elements as we may perform we shall still find a score of stems which in one speech or in another may be regarded

as primal. Yet we may establish two major groups of usage in all this intricacy. In languages purely Polynesian we shall find the system of determinant compounds in order to establish precision of the numerical statement of unity; in languages where the Polynesian has been taken up more or less completely with the adoption of a system of arithmetic thitherto unknown, we shall find most frequently simple stems and less commonly composites of the Polynesian system. In yet other languages, those in which some slight system of counting existed yet had not arrived at the stage of an arithmetic, we shall find the Polynesian stem affixed as a precise member to the vernacular word which had been in some manner of use.

The class of determinant compounds is one which I found it necessary to establish for the designation of one very important factor in the usage of these languages of isolation, that factor which by filling the speech with dissyllables of precision renders it inadvisable to use the older designation of this as the monosyllabic type of speech.*

Simultaneously there operates a yet more rudimentary principle. In composition we are dealing with syllables established in some sort of signification. With the syllables as roots we pursue our dissection yet further to the seeds of speech; we examine their variety through the coefficient value of their consonant modulants.† I shall not here prosecute in full these two interacting forces, for three particularly pertinent examples will serve to establish the method and thereafter there will be no difficulty in following it onward through the matter here assembled.

The first seven items of the foregoing tabulation cover the word for one in all Polynesian languages, and it is apparent on inspection that we have to do with three elements, *ta* absolute in Rotumā, prefixed to a stem *sa* in Tonga and Niuē, to a stem *si* in the remainder of Polynesia. Furthermore we find that *sa* and *si* have one element in common, the consonantal modulant prefixed; its coefficient value is the same in the two cases; therefore such distinction as may be found to exist inheres in the varying element, the vowel. Our minute studies of these languages show us that the basic value of these vowel demonstratives is that of relation in regard of the speaker, of the thinking mind finding speech expression—a relation which in its simplest terms is that of position. I shall not here repeat the evidence upon which this is based; it is readily accessible in the paper last cited; the conclusion is that **a** comes from the mouth to supplement the speech of the pointing finger for the purpose of indicating something remote, **i** something nearer. As yet the category of number has not come into being; therefore **a** and **i** refer to the many or the one alike. But as the need is felt for distinction between the one and the more than one a consonant is applied. How the selection of the consonant modulant is made is not wholly

*"Principles of Samoan Word Composition," 14 Journal Polynesian Society, 40.
†"Root Reducibility in Polynesian," 27 American Journal of Philology, 369.

beyond our comprehension. In these studies I have dwelt at some length upon the two limits of speech expression for each of the buccal organs, the employment of the least speech effort and of the maximum. At the minimum for the tongue lies s (h); at the maximum t. Consider now the case of the beginning speaker into whose intellectuality has come some faintly appreciated need of specifying his diffuse *a* yonder and particularizing that it is one object. He employs the minimum speech effort in the central lingual area and produces thereby *sa;* its sense is still general in particularity "a yonder." In like manner, when he wishes to distinguish which of several to each of which "a yonder" might apply, the effort of mind is followed by effort of speech; he employs the maximum, *ta* is particular and unmistakable "this yonder." In like manner we find i with the same pair of coefficients producing the same result, *si* "a here," *ti* "this here." The four forms are not merely theoretical and diagrammatic; they occur somewhere in the Polynesian languages in exactly these senses and are readily discoverable. We thus see how our three elements of Polynesian words for one arise.

Now we pass to the compaction of these established elements. I have said that a and i stand to the speaker in some relation of position. At the beginning of such speech it is sufficient to express a concept as away from the speaker, more as a, less as i. This remoteness may be in place, it may equally be in time, and in time it may be equally time before or past, time to come or future; we shall find the need arising for particularity in this item also and by the like method of consonantal modulants. But at a certain stage of the speech development *sa* with *si* in one group and *ta* in another were applicable in many senses just beginning to particularize in use. Then, as further need of precision arose, there developed the device of determinant composition. For the argument let us assume that *ta* has four significations including "this yonder," *sa* has other four including "a yonder." By employing in conjunction the two stems of several meanings we obtain a vocable in which the two stems agree upon the common significations; *ta* plus *sa* can mean only "this yonder," for it has the force of double insistence. Thus we obtain *taha* in the sense of unity. In like manner we may trace the growth of *tasi.*

As between the two forms we note in Polynesia that *taha* is found in Tonga and Niuē; it occurs more or less through Melanesia; its element *sa* is the most common in Indonesia. We may safely attribute this form to the Proto-Samoan migration, *tasi* to the Tongafiti swarm; yet the evidence of *ja* in the Punan and *ji* in the Kayan, both archetypal languages in north Borneo, warrants the belief that the elemental *sa* and *si* may have existed concurrently at the earliest period.

We shall now present the type forms of the word for unity in the three oceanic areas, listing in the three columns the occurrences of each type form as used absolutely, as prefix, as suffix.

i. sa.

sa 45, 105. sa–go 46, 47
sa–kai 49
sa–mosi 50
sa–angu 106
sa–bi 107
sa–li 108

sai 48

ke–sa 34
ta–sa 65
te–sa 71
e–sa 91
ha–sa 92
ku–sa 99
i–sa 94
o–sa 103
i–sai 95

ra 42
ha 16

a 9

la–i 94a
ha–momo 17
ha–sa 92
a–ngaomo 10
a–buna 11
a–tan–ok 63a

ta–ra 64
ta–ha 1

te–a 68
ti–a 75, 76
to–a 78
hi–a 93
je–a 21
ji–a 22

ii. ta.

ta 7, 56 ta–ha 1
ta–si 2
ta–hi 3
ta–i 4, 60
ta–mona 57
ta–gai 59
ta–gogi 58

kai–ta 30
kai–ta–mom 31

ja 20, 97
tai 4, 60

ta–ra 64
ta–sa 65
ta–ta 66

tai–mona 61
tai–monomon 62

i–tja 96

iii. ka.

ka 24 ka–una 25
ka–ona 26
ka–he 27
ka–si 5, 32
ka–tsiu 33
ka–hi 6

ti–ka 77

kai 28

kai–geda 29
kai–ta 30
kai–tamom 31

ta–gai 58
sa–kai 49
si–kai 52
si–kei 53

iv. se.

se–bona 51
se–dri 111
se–mbaow 112

ne–he 101

lai 94a

ka–he 51
ne–he 101

e–bweuna 12
e–moti 13
e–re 14
e–sega 15
e–tega 63c
e–sa 91

e–re 14
si–lei 113

v. te.

te 67 te–a 68
je–a 21
te–sa 70

te–wa 72
tes 70

vi. ke.

ke–sa 34
ke–sana 35

me–ke 39

ke–sega 36
kis 37

vii. si.

si–ri 55
si–lei 113

hi–a 93
hi–beti 18

ta–si 2
ka–si 5, 32
wo–sio 90
um–siun 116
no–siuno 102

ta–hi 3
ka–hi 6

i–sa 94
i–sai 95
i–tja 96

sa–i 48
ta–i 4, 60, 61, 62
kai 28, 29, 30, 31, 49, 52, 53, 58
ko–i 63b
ma–i 63d
la–i 94

viii. li.

ngi 40 ri–ti 44

sa–li 108
sa–bi 107

si–ri 55
se–dri 111

ix. ti.

ti–a 75, 76
ti–ka 77

ji 98 ji–a 22

ri–ti 44
hibe–ti 18

thi 74
tsi 81

tsi–u 33

tu–kse 82

x. so.

so 114 | so–boto 115 | os–so 104 | o–sa 103
lep–so 100 | wo–sio 90
o–buna 41

xi. to.

to–a 78 | sobo–to 115
to–wa 79 | jo–ser 23
to–wale 80

xii. ko.

ko–puna 38 | sa–go 46, 47 | koi–tan 63b | ta–gogi 59

xiii. tu.

tu–kse 82 | sa–tu 110 | tu–wel 86
tu–wa 83 | ndu–a 8
tu–wal 84 | hu 19
tu–wale 85

xiv. ku.

ku–sa 99

xv. wa.

wa–sa 117 | te–wa 72 | tu–wal 84
wal 89 | to–wa 79 | tu–wel 86
tu–wa 83 | tu–wale 85
t–wa 87
t–wag 88 | ndu–a
to–wal 80

xvi. bona.

se–bona 51 | a–buna 11 | e–bweuna 12 | ko–puna 38
ta–mona 57 | tai–mona 61 | tai–monomon 62 | a–ngaomo 10
ka–ona 25 | ka–una 20 | ha–momo 17 | kaita–mom 31

xvii. miscellaneous.

ke–sana 35 | mai–sena 63d | san 109 | a–tan–ok 63a
koi–tan 63b | e–sega 15 | ke–sega 36 | sago 46, 47
rega 43 | tega 69 | e–tega 63e | kai–geda 29
mai–sena 63d | me–ke 39 | sa–mosi 50 | si–moksi 54
e–moti 13 | sa–angu 106 | ta–gogi 59 | iray 94
joser 23 | sago–kava 47 | no–siuno 102 | sembaow 112
ya 73

One form in the Polynesian area remains unexplained, Viti *ndua*. It is not wholly easy to arrive at a decision upon this point. Underlying its Polynesian element of later settlement, Viti contains a large element of speech affiliated somewhat indefinitely in hither Melanesia. If we assume this *ndua* to belong to the Melanesian element we find it immediately associable with the *tuwa–towa* forms found in the Banks Group and adjacent northern New Hebrides. Yet in islands of the same region we encounter a *tuwale* form and in the present lack of information on these tongues we may not venture upon dissection. On the other hand the thirteenth item of the preceding tabulation will show

that, though rare, *tu* does exist in Melanesia and in Indonesia in the sense of one; therefore it might be possible to regard *ndu–a* as a determinant compound after the Polynesian fashion.

100. **rua** two; Subanu **dua** id.

rua Tahiti, Rarotonga, Viti, Rotumā, Maori, Mangareva, Rapanui, Tongarewa, Aniwa, Sikaiana.
lua Samoa, Fakaofo, Uvea, Hawaii, Manahiki, Liueniua.
ua Tonga, Niuē, Marquesas.
ru Moriori.

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do Savo.
dui Mafoor.
dua Sesake.
duru Eromanga.
ewuru Lambell.
hûo Leng.
aqa–iu Nada.
qe–yu Murua.
lu Paama 7, Kumamba.
pa–lu Nggao.
lua Epi, Paama, Lifu 17, Kowamerara, Koko, Nakanai, Kilengge, Pokau, Doura, Sinaugoro, Hula, Keapara, Galoma, Keakalo.
lue Lifu, Mouk.
luaga Tavara.
mondu Wandammen.
nuwa Onin.
ngua Mekeo.
rewe Nengone.
reu Tagula.
ro Aneityum, Ambrym 7, Vuras, Mosin 7, Motlav, Volow, Norbarbar, Savo.
a–rho Tarfia.
ro–waba Oiun.
roa Nokon.
ru Efaté, Tanna, Eromanga, Ambrym, Gog, Lakon, Pak, Moar, Jamna, Masimasi, Mosin, Nokón.
ā–ru King.
e–ru Lamassa.
i–rú Likkilikki.
nru Efaté.
rua Barriai, Kalil, Kobe, Vitu, Marina, Maewo, Merlav, Mota, Lo, Arag, Ulawa, Saa, Wango, Fagani, Nggela, Nguna, Bugotu, New Georgia, Waima, Roro, Kabadi, Motu, Panaieti, Misima, Galavi, Boniki, Dobu.
ruabi Raqa.
ruaga Awalama, Taupota, Wedau, Galavi.
ruam Kwagila, Kiviri.
ruamo Mukawa.
rue Omba, Laur.
rue–iti Karufa, Namatote.
rue–ti Lobo.
ruka Vaturanga.
rumo Umre.
rûŏ Longa.
wo–ruo Waropin.
ruru Mohr.
rusi Tandia, Kubiri.
su–ru Dorey, Dasener.
ua Malekula.
i–ua Kiriwina.
wo Brierly Island.
wuaa Rubi.

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dia Bolanghitam.
doha Visayan.
drua Mahuan.
dua Malay, Sirang, Sumbawa, Matu, Sanguir, Salibabo, Lariko, Kayan, Punan, Pampangas, Ilocano, Baju, Subanu, Bontoc Igorot.
dudua Menado.
duoh Dusun.
ga–hu Sulu.
lo–tu Gah.
lu Mysot.
lep–lu Gani.
lua Cajeli, Amblaw, Morella, Batumerah, Caimarian, Teluti, Tobo, Ahtiago, Wahai, Mame, Tihu, Iliwaki.
lūūa Awaiya
roa Malagasy.
rua Salayer, Wayapo, Massaratty, Liang, Saparua, Matabello, Teor, Lampong, Timor, Aru.
ruano Bouton.

Nothing in this list need detain us; the affiliation is clear and each mutation is supported in at least two of the oceanic regions. The general stage of the name for two is a composite, in the majority of cases a compaction of readily comprehensible mutants of *ru* and of *a*, in all other cases of *ru*-mutants with some other element. In the composites we see that *ru* carries in itself the sense of two; we find it persisting in absolute use in Indonesia, frequently in Melanesia, in Polynesia in Moriori, which may be established as a primal phase of the Polynesian in the Pacific.

101. **tolu** three; Subanu **tolo** id.

tolu Samoa, Niuē, Futuna, Tonga, Uvea, Fakaofo, Viti.
toru Tahiti, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Mangareva, Rapanui, Maori, Aniwa, Sikaiana.
thol Rotumā.
tou Marquesas.
kolu Hawaii, Liueniua.
folu Rotumā.

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tolu Efaté, Epi, Paama, Omba, Arag, Nggela, Vaturanga, Nguna, Nggao, Bugotu, Nokón, Nakanai; Vitu, Leng, Kiriwina.
dolu Sesake.
e-tlu Longa.
toru Kowamerara, Koko, Dasener, Wandammen, Namatote.
tohru Karufa.
torua Lakahia.
tonu Mukawa, Kubiri, Kiviri.
tonu-ga Tavara, Awalama, Taupota, Wedau.
tou Marina 8, Masimasi, Moar.
'clu Ulawa, Saa.
'oru Wango, Fagani.
'ol Pak.
tol Marina, Maewo, Merlav, Gog, Vuras, Mosin, Mota, Norbarbar, Barriai, Kalil, King, Lamassa, Kilengge, Graget.
i-tol Lamassa, Kobe.
tor Tarfia.
tola Nokón, Nada.
tolo Paama 8.
oro Mohr.
woro Waropin.
toni Raqa.
ton Murua, Panaieti.
toi Motu, Sinaugoro, Rubi, Dobu.
koi Uni, Pokau, Doura, Kabadi, Hula.
roi Malekula.
oi Keapara, Galoma, Keakalo.
e-talo Mouk.
tal Norbarbar.
tau Jamna.
taur Kumamba.
tel Lakon, Motlav, Volow.
sil Eromanga.
kior Mafoor.
tulu-mo Umre.
tuwru Lobo.
turu-si Tandia.
tul Nokón, Laur, Likkilikki.
tun Misima, Oiun.
sul Ambrym.

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tolu Mame, Matabello.
a-tlu Pampangas.
toru Saparua.
tol Mysot.
tolo Subanu, Visayan, Timor, Gah, Wahai, Bontoc Igorot.
ta-tlo Tagalog.
toro Bolanghitam, Lariko.
to Sulu.
talu Java, Saru.
te-talu Salibabo.
talau Matu.
klau Champa.
tauro Formosa.
telu Tihu, Iliwàki, Mahuan.
telua Batumerah.
telo Punan, Kayan, Dusun, Malagasy, Salayer, Bouro, Caimarian, Morella.
tero Liang.
tulu Lampong, Magindano.

In this ordering of the data we find such a smooth series of mutation that we have no difficulty in including so remote a variant as the *toi* series of Torres Strait. To what extent these aliens have debased the Polynesian currency in their borrowing is strangely shown in the Motu *lakatoi*, Polynesian *vaka* boat and *tolu* three; yet in the ceremonial voyages across the Gulf of Papua, in the annual barter of pots for sago, they lash three hulls abeam and navigation confirms the obscure philology. In Malaysia the more primitive languages employ *tolo* and *telo*, but the pure Polynesian type of *tolu* appears in a sufficient list of languages to establish its persistence in this area.

I am now prepared to offer a genetic hypothesis in explanation of this *tolu* three. In the rigid order of logical development of any such argument this should follow and depend upon such a dissection of the inner content of *lua* two as I have been able to demonstrate in the case of *tasi* one. Up to the present, that clear comprehension of the primal signification of *lua* has eluded my study. Yet I have the less hesitation in presenting this analysis of *tolu* at the present time *extra ordinem*

because I feel encouraged to hope that from the result of these considerations we may be able at some later period to return to the consideration of the basic *lua* with more success and thereby interpolate its rational explanation.

In these studies of the arithmetic of primitive man we have marked two well-defined stages. The Polynesian has attained to the decimal system, he has firmly grasped the whole initial requirement of the science of mathematics, he has the material equipment for all those specialized operations of number which are to be acquired from the decimal base by the gradual growth of knowledge stimulated by the advancing needs of life. The only obstacle which withholds from the savage Polynesian the facility of the table of logarithms is that the need has not yet appeared in his life-condition to stimulate his mind to higher mathematical activity than the operations of addition and subtraction.

In the introduction to this study of the numerals I have pointed out the considerable number of races of savage men within the oceanic district of my province who have not yet attained to the facility of the decimal system, whose numeration is quinary, whose finger count is limited to the digits of a single hand. In the dissection of the quinary system we are brought face to face with a yet more primitive concept of number and notation. Because it is primitive, because it is a working of the dawning intelligence struggling with the comprehension of dimly perceived needs of life, where effort to comprehend involves some effort to reproduce and to confirm by speech such comprehension, we shall not look to find this early numeration restricted by the boundaries of any one family of speech. The vocables employed in such expression may vary widely between family and family; the principle remains constant. We are engaged at first with psychology rather than linguistics.

Long culture-ages anterior to the development of the decimal base which we possess in its completely acquired form in our Polynesian speech the quinary system is found as a halting stage of progress toward a system of notation. The highest development of the quinary system rests in the possession of names for the units from one to five. This is exhibited in the language of Aneityum where the numerals are: 1, *e thi;* 2, *e ro;* 3, *e seij;* 4, *e manowan;* 5, *ikman;* and no words exist for number beyond *ikman*, which I have shown to be a derivative from the common *lima* as hand and five.

A stage yet more primitive is represented by a system which we may continue to call quinary because it is in possession of a word which expresses at its minimum connotation the sum of the digits of one hand. It differs from the perfect quinary as illustrated in Aneityum in the fact that instead of possessing four names for specific number below five it has but two. We thus have an imperfect quinary of three terms. We may go yet lower in the scale and find a numerical system of but two terms. The imperfect quinary of three terms becomes effectively

quinary by composition, the linguistic equivalent of the arithmetic of simple addition. There are several phases of such addition-composition but here it will suffice to illustrate along the phase of the type 1, 2, 2+1, 2+2, 5. This I recall from the Australian aboriginals of the Northwest Bend of the Murray River; 1, *nitshe;* 2, *barcoola;* 3, *barcoola-nitshe;* 4, *barcoola-barcoola;* 5, *yentimarra.*

A stage lower than this is presented by the numeration which has not yet set five apart as a discrete concept even without precision. This is illustrated among others by the Miriam (*apud* Ray) of Torres Straits. It has but two numerals, *netat* 1, *neis* 2. Higher numbers are but sums in addition of these two primitives, *neis-netat* 2+1=3, *neis-neis* 2+2=4, *neis-neis-netat* 2+2+1=5, *neis-neis-neis* 2+2+2=6.

Without prosecuting further this research these examples will serve my purpose satisfactorily in showing that we need feel no surprise if in the Polynesian decimals we may be able to detect a composite of similar type. At the beginning of the sense of number we find the recognition of the distinction between the one and the more than one; the division is cut along the cleavage between unity and plurality. The next dichotomy must be equally simple; it will apply to the plurality. The mind becoming more observant of detail will distinguish between few and many, the small plurality and the greater, or, as I have heard it defined in the Beach-la-Mar, "small-plenty" and "big-plenty." The least of these must be one and one; if it were less it would be merged in the name already established for unity; there we find a name assigned to this one and one, a name and a signification of two. The maximum plurality varies with different peoples and diverse culture attainments, but even we retain our diffuse "big-plenty." With piety probably quite as obscure as the mathematics, we obey the solemn formula and rise and join in singing "oh for a thousand tongues to sing" and mean no more than this maximum diffuse plurality. In like manner we speak of a myriad stars which dot the firmament without any sense of restriction to 10,000. The Australian of the Murray fixes his "big-plenty" at *yentimarra,* which is higher than *barcoola-barcoola* 2+2 by one unit or many. His scale of number, therefore, consists of 1, 2, 2+1, 2+2, and infinitude, which begins at the very finger-tips.

With this possibility in our minds let us return to the examination of the Polynesian *tolu* 3. In the discussion of *tasi* 1 I have explained at no little length the development of the sense of unity and the manner in which its designation has been made more and more precise by the method of determinant composition. In the tabulation which sums the result of that inquiry I have set aside the employment of a **t**-component, **ta** in 22 names of unity, **te** in 6 names, **ti** in 11 names, **to** in 5 and **tu** in 8; in sum the **t**-component appears in 52 out of the 117 names for unity which I have assembled.

In dealing with *lua* 2 I have advanced the opinion that this also

may be regarded as a composite. The list of forms assembled will exhibit the stem **lu** as meaning 2 in each of the three island groups of language.

Accordingly I am willing to advance this further opinion, that *tolu* is a composite of stem **to** and stem **lu,** in effect 1 + 2 = 3. At least we have established stem **to** in the sense of 1 and stem **lu** in the sense of 2 and we have shown that in primitive counting the name for 3 is in certain instances positively identified as the sum of 1 and 2. To have attained to the knowledge that 1 and 2 make 3 is a great stride in mathematics.

102. **fa** four; Subanu **pat, upat** id.

fa Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Fakaofo, Marquesas, Manahiki, Aniwa, Sikaiana, Liueniua.
va Viti.
ha Hawaii, Mangareva, Tahiti, Rapanui.
hak Rotumā.
wha Maori.
a Rarotonga.

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fat Onin, Namatote, Lobo, Lakahia.
fatta Nokón.
fati Nggao.
hat Nokón, Kalil, Laur.
i–hat Lambell.
hati Paama.
bat Kiviri.
bata Mukawa, Kubiri.
bate Efaté.
bati Raqa.
pat Panaieti, Misima.
pati Sesake.
tati Marina.
vat Eromanga, Maewo, Merlav, Gog, Vuras, Mota, Lo.
vata Vitu.
vati Marina, Nggela, Vaturanga, Bugotu, Kowamerara, Koko.
vatz Malekula.
veat Volow.
vet Mosin, Motlav, Norbarbar.
veti Sesake 9.
wati Le Maire, Rubi.
oatti Mannam.
at Lamassa, Likkilikki.
lu–at King.
ate Wandammen.
attesi Tandia.
atti Dasener.
hasi Mugula, Suau, Sariba.
?eso–pari Tubetube.
?wohe–pali Tavara.
?wahe–pari Awalama.
las Nada.
vas Lakon, Murua.
vasi Arag, Sinaugoro, Kiriwina.
vesi Omba.
hani Doura, Motu.
bani Waima, Roro.
pane Barriai, Kilengge.
pangi Mekeo.
peng Abutumete, Aweleng, Amge.
vani Uni, Pokau, Kabadi.
fen Oiun.
pāl Graget.
vari Epi.
vir Ambrym.
bai Galoma, Keakalo.
fai Fagani.
hai Ulawa, Saa, Wango.
vai Hula, Keapara.
fa Tanna.
fau Jamna, Moar, Kumamba.
fauk Tarfia.
fiak Mafoor.
fo Masimasi.
va Savo 9.
i–va Nakanai.
ve Pak, Nifilole 9.
wo–ako Waropin.
a–mo Umre.
a–o Mohr.
e–a Mouk.

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pat Kayan, Subanu.
a–pat Dusun, Sulu, Saru, Tagalog, Pampangas, Bontoc Igorot.
hi–pat Formosa.
i–pat Bontoc Igorot.
o–pat Visayan.
u–pat Subanu.
e–fatra Malagasy.
hat Iliwàki.
haat Timor.
hata Morella.
at Mahuan.
pak Champa.
tak Tihu.
fa Mame.
faa Amblaw.
fai Teluti.
faat Gah.
pa Menado, Wayapo.
pah Lampong.
ko–pa Sanguir.
ha Cajeli.
a–ha Lariko.
i–ha Galela.
haa Saparua.
aa Caimarian.

It is quite evident that in its primal stage this was a closed stem and the weight of evidence indicates *fat*. Ordered upon the mutation variety of this final consonant the foregoing data show a series in the main simple. The only point where the mutation in series seems perhaps violent is in the series from *hani* to *vani* in Melanesia, yet even here the difficulty passes when we observe that the mutation is of the type which I have already so minutely elaborated, the passage from the maximum to the minimum of the possibility of speech effort of a given buccal organ. Having established this series the series *bai* to *vai* through loss of inner **n** follows as a natural subsidiary. The only forms which fail to fit snugly into this devolution series are the Tarfia *fauk*, Marina *tati*, and the Tihu *tak*, the last perhaps associable with Marina.

103. **lima** five; Subanu **lima** id. P. W. 363.

lima Samoa, Futuna, Niuē, Nukuoro, Nuguria, Sikaiana, Hawaii, Viti.
rima Maori, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Rapanui, Moriori, Aniwa, Fotuna, Mangareva.
nima Tonga, Uvea.
ngima Moiki.
liam Rotumā.

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liman Pala.
lima Epi, Sesake, Arag, Makura, Malo, Santo, Nggela, Bugotu, Nggao, New Georgia, Lambell, Moánus, Kiriwina, Nada, Tagula, Brierly Island, Bierian, Wulua, Mannam, Nakanai, Vitu, Mouk, Graget, Kobe, Koko, Barriai, Kowamerara, Le Maire.
teve–**lima** Lo.
tava–**lima** Gog.
tave–**limwe** Mota.
lime Paama, Omba, Malanta, Likkilikki.
limi Yela.
limo Epi.
lina Tangoan Santo, Marina.
lim Duke of York, Laur, Kalil, Lamassa, Ambrym, Nokón, Eromanga, Kumamba.
liem Aweleng, Amge.
te–**lim** King.
teve–**lim** Maewo.
teve–**liem** Norbarbar.
tava–**limw** Merlav.
teve–**limw** Mosin.
'eve–**limw** Leon.
teve–**lem** Vuras, Motlav, Volow.
tivi–**lem** Lakon.
'eve–**lem** Sasar, Pak.
tava–**lemw** Retan.
lum Marina, Weasisi, Naviliag.
e–**lme** Longa.
luem Abutumete.
rima Malekula, Wango, Fagani.
rimi Karufa, Lobo.
rimbi Dasener.
rimo Waropin, Mohr.
rim Eromanga, Pangkumu, Tarfia, Jamna, Masimasi, Moar, Lakahia, Wandammen, Namatote, Mafoor.
rem Eromanga.
rum Kwamera.
j(i)man Aneityum.
jim Jamna.
jimo Baki.
nima Kubiri, Panaieti, Misima, Mukawa, Taupota, Galavi, Oiun.
nima–gesau Graget.
nim Kiviri, Murua, Tavara.
ima Waima, Roro, Mekeo, Uni, Pokau, Doura, Kabadi, Motu, Domara, Mailu, Boniki, Sinaugoro, Hula, Keapara, Galoma, Keakalo, Rubi, Mailu.
ma Galavi.

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lima Malay, Java, Cajeli, Morella, Batumerah, Teor, Magindano, Champa, Sulu, Sumbawa, Visayan, Tihu, Pampangas, Tagalog, Kayan, Subanu, Mahuan, Mame, Salayer, Sanguir, Wayapo, Massaratty, Amblaw, Awaiya, Bima, Kolon, Caimarian, Baju, Teluti, Ahtiago, Bontoc Igorot.
de–**lima** Salibabo.
limah Lampong.
limoh Dusun, Saru.
limo Togean.
limân Kisa.
limanu Bouton.
lema Timor.
e–**lma** Iliwàki.
lemo Basakrama.
lim Sirang, Gah, Mysot.
lep–**lim** Gani.
rima Menado, Liang, Bolanghitam, Lariko, Saparua, Matabello.
rim Jobi, Dorey.
nima Wahai.
dimy Malagasy.
ma Dayak.

In *The Polynesian Wanderings, loc. cit.*, I have discussed at length the question of precedence in the signification of this stem, whether the five derives from the five fingers of the hand or the hand derives from the five of its digitation. The very considerable additions of material in the present tabulation add nothing, subtract nothing from the argument there advanced. After renewing consideration of the subject I yet incline toward the opinion that the numerical sense is primordial and the hand secondary.

104. **ono** six; Subanu **gonom** id.

ono	Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Fakaofo, Viti, Mangareva, Rapanui, Marquesas, Tahiti, Hawaii, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Maori, Aniwa, Sikaiana.
on	Rotumā.
ono	Omba, Arag, Ulawa, Saa, Wango, Fagani, Nggela, Vaturanga, Bugotu, New Georgia.
ona	Tagula.
onem	Mafoor.
ano	Kowamerara.
eno	Le Maire.
fa–mno	Nggao.
monom	King.
wono	Leng, Mouk, Lambell.
wona	Brierly Island.
uone	Likkilikki.
won	Laur, Lamassa, Nokón.
gonom	Subanu.
onom	Visayan, Dusun.
onomo	Bolanghitam.
onam	Matabello.
onem	Dorey.
onum	Mysot.
onu	Kolon.
on	Panaieti.
anam	Malay.
unam	Salayer.
nam	Kayan, Baju.
enem	Bontoc Igorot.
nanam	Java.
namano	Bouton.
nāin	Mahuan.
nem	Teor.
e–nem	Iliwàki.
nen	Tihu.
nome	Awaiya, Caimarian.
lomi	Wahai.
num	Menado, Tobo.
ka–num	Sanguir.
gane	Sulu.
ne	Cajeli.
noo	Lariko.
nooh	Saparua.
noh	Amblaw.
noi	Ahtiago.
an–nuh	Salibabo.
nena	Liang, Morella, Batumerah.
e–nina	Malagasy.
ini	Bima.
lep–wonan	Gani.
wonen	Gah.

It will be seen at a glance that the tabulation for 6 varies widely from that for 5; the difference numerically stated is that we have succeeded in establishing *lima* in 197 languages of these three oceanic areas and *ono* in but 80, the decrease being wholly in Melanesia. The reason for this decrease lies wholly outside the realm of philology; it is not at all a question of phonetic variety. It inheres in the art of counting, it is a limitation of arithmetic, it is the picture of human minds yet undeveloped. Our first five numerals are true digits, fingers of one hand. At this point arithmetic may begin, in Polynesia it has begun, in Indonesia it has come perhaps a little more slowly but it has arrived. In Melanesia there are scores of people who have not attained to the sense of mathematics and the system of the decimals, having counted one hand they start and count the other hand, a new operation and a discontinuous one. Six is not in the sweep of the arithmetical series, it is one on the other hand; the meaning of some of these designations of six is selected at random, "hand and one," "hand-other one," "hand on-its-top one," a system which leads us eventually to the complicated

statement of ninety-nine as (Tavara *apud* Ray) *oloto wohepali hi hilage po nima luaga hi tutu po aitutu po wohepali* "men four they die and hands two they finish and foot it finishes and four."

I have written of Indonesia in the foregoing paragraph that the decimal arithmetic has come a little more slowly. Perhaps it would be better to say that it has come a little less surely, for the reckoning has some sort of story to tell us; *lima* appears in but 17 variants in 55 languages of the Malay Archipelago, *ono* in 32 forms in 40 languages, forms which diverge so widely from the primal *onom* that I can account for them by no law of the phonetic of these languages at present known to me and which I should not venture to include in this list if it were not that I find them occurring with other number words which are undoubtedly Polynesian. I do not profess to understand what underlies this variety in the upper decimals of Indonesia; but this fact is clear: these languages have been conservative of the form of the digits of the first hand; of the fingers on the other hand they have been reckless in mutilation.

105. **fitu** seven; Subanu **pitu** id.

fitu Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Niuē, Uvea, Fakaofo, Marquesas, Aniwa, Sikaiana.
vitu Viti.
whitu Maori.
hitu Tahiti, Manahiki, Rapanui, Marquesas.
itu Rarotonga.
fiku Liueniua.
hiku Hawaii.
hith Rotumā.
ahito Paumotu.

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fitu Nggao.
fita Le Maire.
fik Mafoor.
fiak Dorey.
vitu Arag, Nggela, Vaturanga, Bugotu.
vitsu Kowamerara.
wijtsou Le Maire.
bitu Omba.
bi'u Wango.
piru Tagula.
pi'u Fagani.
pit Misima.
pik Brierly Island.
hi'u Ulawa, Saa.
hit Nokón, Suralil.
it Laur.
mau–**it** King.
hiss Likkilikki.
i–**hise** Lambell.
iss Lamassa.

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fitu Teluti, Matabello.
fiti Gah.
fito Malagasy.
fit Tobo, Teor, Mysot.
lep–**fit** Gani.
pitu Subanu, Kolon, Java, Menado, Bolanghitam, Salibabo, Amblaw.
pitu–ano Bouton.
ga–**pitu** Sulu.
ka–**pitu** Sanguir.
pidu Bima.
pito Visayan, Wayapo, Massaratty, Bontoc Igorot.
pety Basakrama.
witu Awaiya.
hitu Tihu, Iliwàki, Saparua.
hito Cajeli.
en–**hit** Ahtiago.
itu Mahuan, Liang, Morella, Lariko, Caimarian, Wahai.
itu–a Batumerah.
tusu Kayan.
tujuh Malay.
tujoh Salayer, Baju.
turoh Dusun.

For seven the Indonesian runs truer to the Polynesian type than for six. The only doubtful point lies in the *tusu* group; this may be explained as *tu* of the primal stem with terminal accretion; against this explanation militates the fact that nowhere in the three oceanic areas does *tu* appear as carrying the seven sense; it is more reasonable to regard this as the intrusion of an alien stem bearing this partial resemblance. This seems the more likely interpretation, since *tusu* is accom-

panied by alien words for eight and nine after Polynesian designation of the numerals inclusive of six, as here set forth.

	Seven.	Eight.	Nine.
Kayan.....	tusu.....	saya.....	pitan.
Salayer.....	tujoh....	karna....	kasa.
Malay.....	tujuh....	salapan...	sambilan.
Baju.....	tujoh....	dolapan..	sambilan.
Dusun.....	turoh....	(walu)...	(siam).

106. **valu** eight; Subanu **walu** id.

valu Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, Niuē, Fakaofo, Rarotonga.
varu Tahiti, Manahiki, Mangareva, Rapanui, Aniwa.
a–varu Paumotu.
vau Marquesas, Tahiti.
vol Rotumā.
walu Viti, Hawaii.
waru Maori, Sikaiana.

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walu Ulawa, Saa.
welu Omba, Arag.
wala Le Maire.
uale Likkilikki.
wal Nókon, Laur.
ual Lamassa.
i–wal Lambell.
te–wal King.
falu Nggao.
alu Nggela, Vaturanga, Bugotu.
waru Wango, Fagani.
war Mafoor.
wan Brierly Island.
wa Tagula.

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valo Basakrama, Malagasy.
velu–ano Bouton.
walu Subanu, Dusun, Sanguir, Amblaw.
walu–'a Batumerah, Awaiya, Caimarian.
walru Menado.
walo Cajeli, Bontoc Igorot.
oalo Visayan.
wal Tobo, Teor, Mysot.
lep–wal Gani.
waru Bima, Salibabo, Liang, Morella, Lariko, Saparua.
waro Bolanghitam.
wagu Teluti.
wolu Java.
en–wol Ahtiago.
alu Kolon, Gah, Wahai.
allu Matabello.
hau ?Iliwàki.
i–hau Tihu.
han ?Iliwàki.
kâo Mahuan.

107. **hiva** nine; Subanu **siam** id.

hiva Tonga, Niuē, Uvea.
dhiva Viti.
siwo Sikaiana.
siav Rotumā.
iva Samoa, Futuna, Fakaofo, Rapanui, Marquesas, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Manahiki, Aniwa.
iwa Hawaii, Maori.

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siwa Le Maire, Ulawa, Wango, Fagani.
siwe Saa.
siwo Omba, Arag, Brierly Island.
sia New Georgia.
siu Suralil, Laur, Likkilikki, Vaturanga.
ciu Tagula.
siw Mafoor.
tsiu Nokón, Kowamerara.
siuk Lambell.
sewok Lamassa.
hiua Nggela.
hia Bugotu, Nggao.
lisu King.

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siwa Cajeli, Amblaw, Morella, Batumerah, Lariko, Saparua, Awaiya, Caimarian, Teluti, Tobo, Ahtiago Amboyna, Ceram.
siwah Lampong.
siwer Teor.
sia Mahuan, Liang, Gah, Wahai, Matabello.
e sia Iliwàki.
i–sia Tihu.
gata–sia Sulu.
e–shia Wayapo.
chia Massaratty.
siam Subanu, Visayan, Dusun, Pampangas, Bontoc Igorot.
siyam Tagalog, Bontoc Igorot.
sio Menado, Bolanghitam, Tidore, Galela.
sio–anu Bouton.
ka–siow Sanguir.
sioh Salibabo.
siaou Magindano.
sieuw Dorey.
lep–siu Gani.
sivy Malagasy.
pitan Kayan.
si Mysot.
iva Mame.

108. **ngafulu** ten; Subanu **sapulu** id.

ngafulu	Samoa.
ngahuru	Tongarewa, Maori.
lau-ngahulu	Manahiki.
ngaulu	Rarotonga.
angafulu	Futuna.
anaulu	Hawaii.
onohuu	Marquesas.
sanghul	Rotumā.
sangavulu	Viti.
hangahuru	Rapanui.
hongofulu	Tonga, Niuē, Uvea.
ahuru	Tahiti.
tangafuru	Aniwa.
tingahuru	Maori.
tirongouru	Mangareva.
sefulu	Samoa, Fakaofo.
sangavuru	Kowamerara, Koko.
zangavulu	Vitu.
sangafula	Le Maire.
sangapulo	Le Maire.
sangahul	Barriai.
sanghaul	Kalil.
sangaul	Kilengge, Umre.
sanghul	Suralil, Laur.
sanguli	Lamassa.
sangul	Nokón.
sungul	Aweleng.
e-sungul	Abutumete.
sanaulu	Tubetube.
sanhulu	King.
sanau	Dobu.
samfur	Mafoor.
sauli	Likkilikki.
singino	King.
songo	Leng.
nanau	Mailu.
sanpulo	Magindano.
sangpuo	Tagalog.
hangpu	Sulu.
hampulu	Kolon.
sapulu	Subanu, Basakrama.
sapuluh	Malay.
sapuloh	Bouton, Salayer, Baju.
sanulu	Iliwàki.
senulu	Tihu, Mahuan.
polo	Wayapo, Massaratty, Bontoc. Igorot.
napolo	Visayan.
folo	Malagasy.
pulu	Kayan, Lampong, Sirang.
apulu	Pampangas.
plu	Champa.
mpuru	Bima.
buro	Amblaw.
pulo	Kayan, Matu.
pulah	Java.
kapuroh	Sanguir.
mapuroh	Salibabo.
mapulroh	Menado.
mopuru	Bolanghitam.

In Polynesia and in Indonesia we find a primal stem *fulu* with two prefaces, *sanga* and *se* respectively; in Indonesia we find a frequent occurrence of the primal stem absolute and this in the languages which our other evidence shows us to be primordial. In Melanesia the devolution forms are all derived from the *sangafulu* composite. The tale of the forms for ten is not without interest, 59 forms in 73 languages. When we compare this with the record for *lima*, we are led to the conclusion that the concept which establishes the decimal system is of the most modern phase of these languages at the hour when the first Polynesians were expelled from Indonesia.

Since the collation of the material and the establishment of the numeration of the foregoing synopsis of the Polynesian content in the conjoint Subanu and Visayan I have seen reason to include two items whch escaped my attention. These will be found in brief synopsis in the dictionary under the words *bui* and *tian*. The sum, therefore, must be increased by two and stands at 110 items.

In this list there is little to call for explanation on the score of phonetics. The consonant mutations are all readily comprehensible and of standard type. We have already had occasion to note that the vowel mutability is great; it represents a Malayan speech principle quite opposed to the stern fixity of vowel elements which holds throughout the Polynesian. We need not examine particulars except in one

small and quite important group. A few final vowels exhibit a mutation to diphthongs which is wholly anomalous when referred to the Polynesian phonetic. All the examples which present this diphthongal mutation are exhibited in the following list:

a–ay	tifa	tipay	**i–oy**	afi	gapoy
e–ai	ate	gatai	**o–ao**	lano	danao
e–ay	fale	balay		malino	linao
	fohe	bogsay	**o–au**	lango	langau
	mate	matay	**u–hoy**	kau	cahoy

I can see an explanation of this movement which seems valid so far as it goes. It will serve excellently to account for the foregoing instances; the objection will lie in the fact that it offers no explanation of the many instances in which the final vowel undergoes no such mutation. The Polynesian languages are under an inexorable movement toward open syllables. In every one, the words invariably end at their present stage in a vowel. But as we work backward along the track of their migration we find convincing proof that this compulsion is modern; it has become effective only since their arrival in their new Pacific homes. In my late studies of Rapanui I have been able to establish as fact that the migration which eventually settled upon Easter Island left Nuclear Polynesia at a period when the Proto-Samoan still retained in use its final consonants. In Polynesian loan material held by Melanesian languages we find not only final consonants, but we find distinct evidence that stems ending in a vowel were abraded to establish a preferred form with a final consonant and that this in turn has been abraded when the speech fashion turned toward the open syllable; and thus we have exposed as final a vowel originally medial in the primal stem. On the other hand the Malayan languages have an equal desire for closed stems; we encounter many vocables whose primal open stem is now closed by the addition of a consonant in deference to this movement. As I take it, these ten words of the open stem were held by their Malayan borrowers as (for some reason to us incomprehensible) exempt from their own inclination to add some final consonant. Therefore the minds of the speakers were under stress to avoid the easy final consonant, to accentuate the fact that the final sound was a vowel, accordingly to reproduce this mental stress by making the final vowel more vocalic than it was intended to be. Why this motive has left no trace in other stems of open type we may not now attempt to explain.

Thus we are naturally directed to the general treatment of the Polynesian content by the several groups of Malayans which possess it to a greater or less degree. We have just seen examples of assiduity in its pronunciation, evidence that the material was at least subconsciously felt to be alien. In the same way we find that the Polynesian content is held uncontrolled by the ordinary rules of Malayan grammar; it is almost wholly free from the incidence of the customary Malayan infixature. In the foregoing synopsis (item 83) I have pointed out the

possibility of the use of the infix in the word *tinae*, but this is unique and therefore doubtful. The more closely we study the Malayan use of the Polynesian content, by so much the more do we convince ourselves that it is essentially a foreign element—adopted, but very scantily adapted. I can find but one instance in which Malayan infixature has been applied to a Polynesian loan, *fili* item 20.

Since the mutation is found most irregular in the treatment of the vowels, which in Polynesian are the elements which carry the meaning despite consonant variety, I may cite an instance in our own English which will illustrate this point. In France the contre-danse may be applied with reason to so formal a dance as the stately minuet. A polished court brought contre-danse into England in order to add dignity to its festivities and to have possession of a name which should prevent the dances of Whitehall from confusion with the Morris dancers on the green before the wayside tavern. After adoption followed adaptation; through an inexorable rule of English phonetics the alien contre-danse underwent vowel mutation and became country-dance. In its new form it was misunderstood and applied to the very dances which it was designed to place in a more humble state. Now it is very freely employed of the folk dances lately restored somewhat artificially to use. Last stage of all, the true meaning of contra having quite vanished, it has become barn dance. From a Louis Treize treading the gavotte whose lilt is yet not wholly forgotten, the word has passed to Hodge heeling and toeing the dust from a puncheon floor between the racks of hay.

Where we see the Malayans preserving the Polynesian content as a foreign acquisition we see on the other hand the Polynesians quite uncontaminated by any Malayan influence, the only possible exception being *tinae*, which I present more as a result of curious research than with conviction.

The purpose of this chapter—indeed, so far as I am concerned, the end and object of this whole book—is to pass under critical review the validity of the so-called Malayo-Polynesian family of speech. We now have come through much minute investigation to the point at which we may deal with this problem.

We shall find assistance in arithmetic. In former books in which I have dealt with this subject I was content to accept the list of words common to Malayan and Polynesian compiled by predecessors in this inquiry and copied by one from another. Thus I was led into the statement that the mass of material satisfactorily thus established amounted to somewhere about twelve dozen stems. Now I have made a fresh computation for myself upon one Malayan base and am prepared to amend the former figures. In Subanu-Visayan the amount of the Polynesian content is 110 stems. This is a figure upon which I am willing to stand as the result of careful study. It represents the extent to which some Polynesian has community with one Malayan, namely the Subanu-Visayan.

It will be seen that this figure is not exhaustive. The full record should state the figure of the extent to which some Polynesian has community with some Malayan. I can answer for practically all Polynesian. To answer for all Malayan would entail the collation of all the languages of the archipelago, a task which would inordinately delay other work which I must prosecute. To the figure thus established in my own studies I now add the figures which are derived from the studies of other workers but which I have not wholly verified.

In *The Polynesian Wanderings* the work was conducted upon the base of the speech of Efaté in the New Hebrides. Referring to the serial number of the items in Appendix I of that volume, I now present the following table of Malayan identifications which are extra-Visayan:

9	10	27	28	29	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	47	78
79	128	169	171	174	177	178	179	180	181	183	184	213	215	218
221	222	223	225	226	227	228	230	231	233	235	237	238	241	243
248	249	252	255	256	257	258	260	261	265	266	268	269	270	272
273	275	276	279	281	282	286	287	288	289	291	293	296	297	299
302	304	305	306	307	311	313	316	320	322	326	328	329	331	333
337	341	342	345	346	349	352	353	354	355	357	358	360	362	364

The 105 additions to the Polynesian content in this list rest most immediately upon Tregear's "Maori Comparative Dictionary" and Turner's "Samoa."

I next add from Mr. Tregear's dictionary these 42 items, referring to the Maori words. These are the residuum after extracting all instances contained in this tabulation and in the synopsis of the Visayan in this chapter. Of this residue in Tregear, the 42 are all that I am willing to accept, for Mr. Tregear, while equally opposed to the Malayo-Polynesian family, goes in his identifications a little beyond what I regard as just in philologic method.

anewa	hamuti	kata	mai	miro	patu	tango
anini	hana	koekoea	mana	miti	poto	tara
anuhe	haunga	ko mo	manga	ngita	puke	tia
api	horo	kopu	marie	pae	puna	tuna
atarau	kaho	korokoro	matau	paka	rama	tupu
ato	kapo	kui	mimi	papa	rimu	wawara

The sum of these three groups is 257; that is the tale of words upon which, really upon far less than which, Bopp erected his family of the Malayo-Polynesian languages. The research which has compiled these lists is so great, the study has been so minute on the part of my painstaking predecessors, that it is not to be supposed that further study, such as I have conducted *de novo* upon the Visayan, will add appreciably to this figure. I do not intend to perform the operation under the rule of three, not puzzled but inexpressibly weary of this Malayo-Polynesian bar which has long blocked the path of philologic research into the beginnings of human speech; but any one who cares may compute the ratio of 110 Polynesian words to the 12,000 stems entered in the Visayan dictionary of Fray Juan Félix. Then, if he will, he may reckon the

ratio of 257 words to the corpus of Malayan speech in some scores and more of languages. I do not now recall an enumeration of the number of words which we have assumed from the American Indian. Squaw and papoose, wigwam and tepee, wampumpeag and quahaug from which it was cut—I am sure that I could find 250 words taken by violence or wheedling from our wards and included in the tongue we speak. But not on that account (should I ever be tempted to become a philologic systematist) do I intend to propose the erection of a speech family of the Anglo-Algonkian for New England or Anglo-Iroquoian for New York, although I sometimes fancy that such a family, did it really exist, would tend toward the better preservation of the purity of the diction now local to Manhattan. This is not absurd, or else Bopp's Malayo-Polynesian family founded on equal numbers is absurd; which, in truth, I believe it to be.

I shall not here enter at length upon the consideration of the source of this Polynesian content of the Malayan; I shall not here explain how it is possible that the Malayan contains Polynesian and the Polynesian contains no Malayan. Amending the figure from 150 to 257, I have presented this argument in full in *The Polynesian Wanderings*. In its barest outline I shall restate it.

The Polynesian peoples before the Christian era occupied more or less completely the islands of the Malay Archipelago and were probably as now in the Pacific, coast-dwellers. About that epoch the Malayan peoples descended upon the island region from the coast lands of the Asiatic continent with a superior civilization, probably in the possession of the art of working metals. Before the better-equipped warriors the Polynesians fled eastward, ever being dislodged from more eastern islands of the archipelago as the Malayans bore upon their rearguard. Eventually the Polynesians were forced out of the archipelago by way of the waters respectively north of New Guinea and south* thereof and in the free Pacific were beyond the reach of their oppressors. From the reading of the material contained in this volume I add to my former consideration another explanation of the Polynesian content.

In the west of Malaysia—say in Sumatra, since the present ethnologic position of Mentawei off the western coast of that island is most significant—the first stragglers of the Malayan swarm, too few to be dangerous, necessarily on their good behavior, would be adopted into the Proto-Polynesian communities and undergo naturalization in speech and habit. Later, upon the coming of the irresistible body of the invaders, this body of naturalized Polynesian Malays would be the first to feel the attack and would scatter wherever their fleets could carry them, yet as soon as peace was made they would prove readily assimilable with their parent Malayan stock. This provides a sufficient explanation why we find the most archetypal Malay at points so sundered as

*See note at end of chapter, p. 173.

the Malagasy of Madagascar, the Punans, Klemantans, and Kayans of North Borneo, the several tribes of the Philippines, and why, in conjunction with the most archaic Malay, we find equally the purest preservation of the Polynesian.

In thus sundering the Polynesian from the Malayan, in establishing the fact that they represent two families of speech of different grades of development and not a single one, we shall work no harm to the science of language. On the contrary the result should be most highly beneficial, for it is always a relief to be rid of superstition and obsession in any relation of life. Set free from its impossible association with the agglutinative Malayan, the isolating Polynesian will stand forth as the fit road along which investigation may trace its steps to a genesis of the speech of man. The ultimate attainment of research into the modern languages of the analytic type is to establish their groundwork in the inflected tongues. The last point which the student of the languages of inflection may attain is to connect them with yet earlier agglutinative speech. So, too, with the student of agglutination, his analysis carries him back to the yet simpler speech of isolation.

In like manner, in like measure, the investigator who begins on this bottom level, makes his start in a family of isolating language—what may he hope to reach? Early in his course he will reach monosyllabism, a term frequently but erroneously applied to isolating speech. After the monosyllable what is there? There is the vowel, and this is in the speech of man because he is an animal and the unmixed vowel is the whole speech of the beast. There is the consonant modulant whereby man is learning to adapt animal speech to needs which the beast can not feel. It is there that speech begins. Only set the Polynesian speech free from the hindrance and the misleading of the Malayan association, and the students of speech may press bravely on to the discovery of the beginning of man speech.

I regard myself as singularly fortunate, I consider it a great factor in the awakening of interest in the themes to which these studies of the Pacific and Indian seas may lead, that there is an interlacing of the work of Captain Friederici with my own. In this work I have made grateful use of his material as enriching the phonetic studies presented in this chapter. Later in the serial course of these studies I shall be under a great debt to him for clearing the way in his brilliant research into the grammar of Melanesian speech. In my volume *The Polynesian Wanderings* I was led to propose a second migration track of Polynesian migrants through Torres Straits. Just before this chapter leaves my hand I am fortunately in receipt of his comment upon the Viti Stream which I have proposed. It is published at page 16 of his third volume, *Untersuchungen über eine melanesische Wanderstrasse* (1913).

"Nachdem somit in grossen Zügen die ethnologischen und linguistischen Verhältnisse der vier Völkergruppen überschaut worden sind, die durch die folgende Untersuchung miteinander verbunden werden sollen, bleibt mir noch übrig, kurz den Stand der Auffassungen zu skizzieren, der zur Zeit des Erscheinens von Teil II dieser Veröffentlichung, also im Marz 1912, von den Ethnologen und Linguisten in dieser Frage eingenommen wurde.

"Nachdem man noch vor kaum 50 Jahren jede melanesische Wanderung für höchst unwahrscheinlich erklären zu müssen geglaubt hatte, traten nach einem nicht unbeträchtlichen Anwachsen unserer Kenntnisse über Ost-Neu-Guinea im Jahre 1889 zwei Ansichten zugleich in die Öffentlichkeit, von denen eine jede den richtigen Wanderweg der hier sitzenden Melanesier gefunden zu haben glaubte. Die eine stammte von E. J. Hamy, die andere von Basil Thomson.

"Die von Thomson ist schnell erledigt. Während die Motu und verwandten Stämme selbst angeben dass sie von Osten kommend eingewandert sind, sagt Thomson dass sie von Westen gekommen seien, also durch die Torres-Strasse. Ich würde diese durch nichts gestützte nackte Angabe nicht weiter angeführt haben, wenn nicht William Churchill kürzlich in einer umfangreichen Arbeit den Beweis erbracht zu haben glaubt, dass tatsächlich ein von Westen kommender Wanderzug durch die Torres-Strasse gegangen sei und auf diesem Wege die Neu-Hebriden erreicht habe. Churchill glaubt mit Hilfe sprachlicher Untersuchungen zwei M. P.-Wanderstrassen aus Indonesien nach der Südsee festgestellt zu haben, von denen die eine soeben genannt wurde, während die andere nördlich um Neu-Guinea, nördlich von Neu-Pommern durch den St. Georgs-Kanal nach den Salomonen ging. Die Dampier- und Vitiaz-Strassen werden von ihm ignoriert. Es ist hier nicht der Ort auf die Methode und Durchführung der Arbeit von Churchill einzugehen; ich kann auch nicht versuchen, den Beweis zu liefern, dass diese von ihm gewonnenen Ergebnisse nach meiner Ansicht nicht richtig sind. Wenn ich jedoch nachweise, dass die Westlichen Papuo-Melanesier von Britisch-Neu-Guinea durch die Vitiaz- und Dampier-Strasse gefahren sind, und dann von Osten kommend ihre neue Heimat an der Südküste von Neu-Guinea erreicht haben, dann beweise ich zugleich, dass diese Melanesier wenigstens nicht von Westen durch die Torres-Strasse gekommen sind, und ich beweise, dass es neben der Torres-Strasse und dem St. Georgs-Kanal noch ein drittes höchstwichtiges Einfallstor in die Südsee gibt, nämlich die Meeresstrassen zwischen Neu-Guinea und Neu-Pommern.

Unter Heranziehung des damals ja nur spärlich fliessenden ethnologisch-anthropologischen Materials, aber unter sachgemässer Ausnutzung desselben, weist Hamy in einer sehr geschickten Abhandlung eine melanesische Wanderstrasse nach, die entlang der Nordküste von Neu-Guinea durch die Dampier-Strasse bis in den Louisiaden-Archipel zu verfolgen ist. Schon allein die Vernachlässigung dieser vortrefflichen Arbeit oder des in ihr steckenden Materials, das er ja auch selbst hätte sammeln können, erscheint als ein Fehler in Churchills Methode. Es ist übrigens nicht allein Churchill dem diese verdienstvolle Arbeit entgangen zu sein scheint.

I am peculiarly grateful to Captain Friederici for his graceful note that I am not the only student of the South Sea who has neglected to make the acquaintance of Hamy's work. A circumstance may be mentioned in palliation of my failure to see the migration possibility of Vitiaz and Dampier. At the time when I was first familiarizing myself with the channels of communication through Melanesia at a period considerably anterior to my friend's acquaintance with the now well-policed waters of the Bismarck Archipelago, this waterway between Neu-Pommern and New Guinea was a most forbidding spot. Access to its northern portal was difficult, to its southern portal equally hazardous, the strait itself was all but unknown and its reputation was of the worst. As a navigator I formed a distinct impression of the unavailability of the passage; this impression has persisted into my later studies, this confession resting more on the sympathetic than on the scientific order of thought.

I am very glad that Captain Friederici establishes this passage as the third of the Polynesian highways. I am thereby better able to adjust in the general scheme of travel the Polynesian content of Bongu and kindred languages of German New Guinea, including therewith the interesting case of Mannam Island.

Yet I do not consider that my theory of a Torres Strait fairway for Polynesian migration is thereby contravened, nor does Captain Friederici make that claim, for he speaks of the Dampier-Vitiaz as "noch ein drittes höchstwichtiges Einfallstor in die Südsee." I am glad to see that in writing for the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society of Friederici's second volume I pointed out that his record of the Barriai speech was sufficient to establish this strait as an open highway to the Polynesian fleet.

Whatever the decision may be at which we may arrive in advancing knowledge as to the peopling of the littoral of British New Guinea, I do not think that it will be necessary to regard Torres Strait as closed to Polynesian migration. That view is held by Sidney Ray and expressed in his study of the vocabulary material contained in Wollaston's "Pygmies and Papuans." Yet from the coasts of that region, far to the west of the Gulf of Papua, and for which no one would suggest a settlement from the east, I am finding sources of the same Polynesian content in speech. Torres Strait lay invitingly open before the fleeing Polynesians; we can see no reason why they should not follow that course. I contend that we do find linguistic monuments of their passage.

THE SUBANU

Studies of a Sub-Visayan Mountain Folk of Mindanao

Part III.

Subanu-English Vocabulary
English-Subanu Vocabulary
A Partial Bibliography

SUBANU–ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

a thou. (**ga, iga, ya, nia, niya.**)
dali a manece, go thou up hurriedly.
toma a logmo song neen, why blamest thou him?
V **ca,** second personal singular pronoun, nominative, always postpositive.
a– a composition prefix (Visayan **ca–**).
a. used singly:

abagol	alisod	atalao
abolo	alongas	atoc
abotang		

b. in conjunction with suffix **–an** or **–on:**

abilingan	alobungan	atandanan
alanganan	aloonan	atapusan
alibutan	amatayon	atodanan
alipayan		

aao cacao. (Spanish *cacao.*)
aaoan cacao orchard.
aba alas.
aba, abagol mo cogool, alas, what great pain!
V **abaa,** interjection of grief or wonder.
abagol Cf. **bagol.**
abayo (***cabayo***) horse. (Spanish *caballo.*)
abilingan Cf. **biling.**
abolo Cf. **bolo.**
abotang Cf. **botang.**
agen I.
agom to enjoy.
pocagagom enjoyment.
V **agom,** to enjoy.
aguanta Cf. **nocpigaguanta.**
alaan adverbial modifier used with *bisan* to convey the sense that the word with which it is employed is used in a sense absolute, see the same usage of *somala alandon.*
pegotaran sog bisan alaan, headpiece, caption.
alaik
alaik punanen, alaik sabab, why, reason, cause.
alalaat mercy. Cf. **laat.**
V **alaot,** interjection of pain.
alandon adverbial modifier in the sense of *alaan,* used with *somala* and less frequently with *bisan,* generally postpositive, but sometimes precedes the word or phrase which it modifies.
pocaoid somala alandon, to attach, to seize.
di poggolat sog bisan alandon, to eliminate.
somala alandon nong molingin, globular.
bisan alandon sogbobaan, to put into a basket.
alanganan Cf. **langan.**
alibutan Cf. **libot.**
alipayan Cf. **lipay.**
alisod Cf. **lisod.**
alobungan Cf. **lobung.**
alongas Cf. **longas.**
aloonan Cf. **loon.**
amaaron Cf. **aron.**
amatayon Cf. **matay.**
amatene Cf. **matay.**
ambit to share.
pogambit to impart.
V **ambit,** to share, to hold in common, to communicate.
ami we (exclusive).
Kolon: *hami.* Bima: *nami.*
amo you. (**gamo, lamo, yamo.**)
V **camo,** second personal pronoun plural.
–an suffix, see **a–, ca–.**
anahau a tree whose long leaves are used in religious dances.
anding goat.
V **canding,** id.
antocos spectacles. (Spanish *anteojos*).
Iberian barbarism has treated the semivowel *j* after a manner which richly illustrates the possibilities of phonetic degradation. In present Castilian, which is one of the few languages of Europe which carries the aspirate proximate to each of the three speech organs, the *j* has an *h* value. In Latin America and in California of our own continental area an elder phase of the Castilian, or a distinct Iberian dialect, has prevailed, and we hear for *j* the compound of palatal surd mute with the preface of the palatal nasal, *ngk;* thus *vulgo* in California Los Angeles has become Angkeles, and San José, stopping a little short of the bottom of the palatal column, is Sangkhosé. Here, in dominions oversea which we have acquired from the errant Spaniard we meet once again this mutation clear across the palatal tract; the point arising in languages of less complex structure will be found discussed at some length at page 20 of *Easter Island.*
antosan to bear, to endure. (**gantoson.**)
sogmolomo antosan, bearable, light.
V **antos,** to bear, to suffer.
ang an article.
V **ang,** nominative article of appellative nouns.
angay to take. (**gangay.**)
pogangay nog rongog, slander, defamation.
sogmogangay nog dongog, slanderer.
aoid to grasp.
pocaoid somala alandon, to attach, to seize.
V **haoid,** to detain, to seize, to hold.

apote (***capote***) coat. (Spanish *capote*.)
apote doon igbongcon noc ponopoton nong moreipol gobonong mogonao, greatcoat.
apujungal a forest spirit with the head of a man on the body of a pig; it must be propitiated by boar hunters.
aromanan a relative.
arugo oath.
aron like, similar.
moni aron noc taliaman, a spear.
maaron like, the same, identical.
mananap maaron nog osa, gazelle.
maaron nog leen noc pomotangon, identical.
bosi maaron noc talloma, javelin.
gondi maaron, disagreement.
di maaron, dissimilar.
pocomaaron, identity.
amaaron gosaca, identically.
nong maaron, imitation.
sogondaay tundongon noc pacanaoron, delusive.
momaaron
mananap momaaron no guicos, civet cat.
arunaan rich, wealthy, renowned.
V **arunahan**, rich.
asoang enchanter.
V **asoang**, wizard, ghost.
atalao Cf. **talao.**
atandanan (a : **tondong** : an, cf. **atodanan, tondong**).
poctoman noc atandanan, to satisfy.
V **catongdanan**, that which is due.
atapusan Cf. **tapus.**
atoc (a : **toc**) to guess.
V **tagna**, to conjecture, to prognosticate, to prophesy, to guess a riddle, to solve a problem.
atodanan (a : **tondong** : an, cf. **atandanan, tondong**).
V **catongdanan**, obligation, to owe; **tongod**, to belong, to pertain to.
atop roof. Cf. **gatop.**
poctolo nongog atop, to rain.
V **atop**, roof, thatch. Kayan: *ato*, thatch. Bugis: *atok*, id. Samoa: *ato*, id.
atud (**hatud**) to carry.
pocoatud, carriage, transport.
sogmogatod, carrier, conductor.
V **hatod**, to carry, to bear.
aú I.
ayac appetite, liking for food.
gayac affectionately.
gayac so gombagol, lovingly.
mayac to love.
molomo mayac, inclined to love, of a loving disposition.
ang mayac, lover.
nogayac lovingly.
sognigasoy sonnem nogayac, a lover.

ba interrogative particle.
maligos ba tugaling, is he worse.
V **ba**, note of interrogation.
baa flood.
haa noc tubig, overflow of rivers, spate, freshet.
V **baha**, flood, freshet.
baag loin cloth.
baal to make. Cf. **balon, binaal.**
pogbaal, to form, to shape.
socpogbaal, efficiency.
gaom socpogbaal, faculty of mind, efficiency.
sogmigbaal nog balay, builder, architect.
socsocalbaalan, executable, susceptible of being made.
bonoa noc pogbaalan, workshop.
baal to work in the fields, to till the soil. Cf. **balan, binal, beninalan.**
mogbaal lamo noc sulal, did you work in the orchard?
moomogbaal, laborer.
nogmigbaal sog lopa, day laborer, farmer.
sogmigbaal, laborer.
pogbaal somala alandon, to till the soil.
sogondi mayac mogbaal moglanglaang, idler, vagabond, loafer.
V **baol**, to till the soil.
baalbaai Cf. **balbal.**
baangan to find, to meet, to encounter.
baat *pogbaat*, to chain.
V **pagbaat**, id.
baba the edge of a knife.
baba the mouth.
tundong sa cabayo nga sangol sog baba, bit.
V **baba**, mouth. Matu: *baba*, id. Kayan: *ba*, id.
baba to carry by land.
This may be a scrivener's error for *bala* to carry a load (Visayan *bala* in that sense); at the same time it is equally possible that it is Polynesian *fafa* to carry on the back.
babá down, under.
dien ha babá, from the bottom.
baboy pig.
baboy talon, wild boar.
baboy talon boloog, wild sow.
bool noc paa nog baboy, slice of pork.
laneg baboy, lard.
gunud baboy, pork.
V **baboy**, pig. Bontoc Igorot: *fāfuy*, boar.
bacalan
libong bo bacalan noc tobon nog dinamog bata, a barren female.
bacoao heel.
badi a nervous spell.
badya the Visayan plow, a bent stick drawn by carabao, not used by the Subanu.
baga lung.
V **baga**, id.
baga arrogant.
pocobaga, arrogantly, loftily, in a displeasing manner, offensive.
V **pagcahobag**, arrogant.

baga live coals.
baga tondong noc abolo no gapoy, ignition, combustion, burning.
pagbaga noc potao, to weld iron.
V baga, live coals.
baga the shoulder.
Bontoc Igorot: *pōkō*, id.
bagas Cf. **begas.**
bagas mais, meal, flour.
bagol large, great.
abagol
boligan nong nga abagol, a large wild bee.
aba, abagol mo cogool, alas, what great pain!
gombagol
gayac so gombagol, lovingly.
gombagol noc palongan noc pogogasan somala alandon, trough.
gotao gombagol noc sopingi, fleshy.
gotao noc socogan gopia gombagol noglana, a person of great strength.
pogogovitan somala nog gare so gombagol noc lonsod, language, idiom.
macabagol
macabagol noc tian, potbelly.
noctibagol
soc lupa noctibagol guìnale, glebe.
nogombagol
golo nogombagol, lintel.
milipay yo nogombagol, I am very glad.
liga nogombagol, blaze, fire light.
teguib nogombagol, a large chisel.
calaatan nogombagol, injustice.
domomog nogombagol, thick heavy lips.
sogmebagolan
sogmebagolan nog damomog, thick lipped.
bahagi to part.
bahal
dangal bahal, a tree growing in the center of the sea.
bahin part.
bai lady, princess (Moro).
bais (**embais**) beautiful, good conduct.
bakes a girdle.
bakes panit, a leather belt.
bal
bal nogondi socal so catorongan, injustice.
pombaal, to bring false witness, perjury.
ponbaal, calumny.
balagon a vine.
balagon nog bolaan, a creeping vine.
V balagon, every kind of climbing vine or plant which employs tendrils for its support.
balan Cf. **baal.**
lopa nogompia balan, arable.
balani
bato balani, lodestone.
V batong balani, id.
balat west wind.
balay house, building.
balay noc poctonaoan noc potao nog melamogampa nog lupa, ironworks.

balay—continued.
lopa mogondapa balay gorocan bo pomolonan, uncultivated, uninhabited.
sogmigbaal nog balay, builder, architect.
gosog nog balay, head of household or family.
gampu nog balay, settlement of four or five houses, hamlet, village.
V balay, house, abode of man or beast.
balbal (**baalbaal**) enchanter.
V balbal, witch, wizard, ghost.
bale ah, alas.
balian (**babalian, walian**) men and women who perform ceremonies in honor of the gods; spirits of the gods.
bata balian, child spirits.
balibad excuse.
V balíbad, to excuse, to free of blame.
balidya to sell.
nocpogbalidya, factor, trader, merchant.
V balígya, to sell, to trade by land or sea.
Bima: *beli*, to sell.
balidyaan
bonua nocpogbalidyaan nonogong manoc, cockpit, place of betting on fowls.
balilid to lie down, to recline.
baling a cloth girdle or belt.
baling somala alandon jabas matas bo moloctin, bandage.
V baling, net of coarse texture.
balingawa spider.
Bontoc Igorot: *káaowa*, id.
balingdagat shore, strand, seacoast. Cf. **dagat.**
balod a wave.
pocdanlag nog balod, dashing of the sea, surf.
V balod, waves of the sea or river.
baloganan
gabo pagbaloganan, fireplace, hearth.
balon Cf. **baal.**
malomo balon, feasible.
socsocalbalon, feasible.
sogsocalbalon, workable.
pocolomo balon somala alandon, ability.
balon provisions, food, ration.
V balon, provisions.
balos lie, untruth, fallacy.
pogdonot sogpoctoon nog balos soc poccano, to be heathen.
tontoltontol balos nog mibatog sog lonsod, rumor, little tale, gossip.
pocbalos, to tell lies.
baloson impostor, cheat.
balu
balu nog lee, a widower.
balu nog libun, a widow.
bata nog balu libun, a widow's son.
Kayan: *balu*, widow.
bandela banner. (Spanish *bandera.*)
sogmogoit nog bandela, standard bearer.
bandi a jar.
bandian
lee nog bandian, a wealthy man.

banig to soften.
banta enemy.
bantug fame.
bang
gat bang, to face.
bangitao alligator, crocodile.
V **balanghitao**, id.
bangot beard.
poggatad poctolin nog bangot, to get a beard.
V **bongot**, facial hair.
bangon fine, blood money (Sulu).
barong fighting knife.
basa to read.
basa ó sulat, to read.
maya nia cè pagbasa, read thou quietly.
V **bása**, to read. Bontoc Igorot: *fasāek*, id.
basa (**bosa**) to respect.
sogantol nog basa, irreverent.
pocgondaay basanon, irreverence.
pocbasa to respect.
basac mud.
socmoglerme nog basac, plasterer.
basacan mud.
basting a bell.
basu a cup.
basulan repentance. Cf. **inunsulan, guinonsola.**
V **basol**, to repent.
bata child, offspring, son, daughter.
bata noc poraigon gopia bo longarandon, a spoiled child.
mitondong nog bata, juvenile.
libong bo bacalan noc tobon nog dinamog bata, a barren female.
panday negmegbata, midwife.
bata balian, child spirit.
bata ilu, orphan.
bata lagi, a small male child.
bata tubig, a creek, small stream.
bata bulan, new moon, the first eighth of the moon.
gektu bata bulan, the second eighth of the moon.
batabata a baby.
V **bata**, child.
batad a custom. Cf. **batasan, botasan.**
batang a log.
batang soong, bridge of the nose.
batangan
batangan laget, tobacco box.
batasan (**batad**) all the customs of a people.
socalan igbutasan, to abolish.
V **batasan**, custom, law, disposition.
batasan (**bata**) mischievousness.
bate brother-in-law.
batirol chocolate pot.
V **batirôl**, id.
batit young of animals.
batit utung, young monkey.
batiti a large bat.
bato (**batu**) stone.
bato balani, loadstone.
nga binaal bato, to work stone.
V **batô**, stone of every sort. Bontoc Igorot: *bāto*, id.
batog to call.
mibatog
tontoltontol balos nogmibatog sog lonsod, rumor, gossip.
V **batog**, to accost, to call birds.
baton to educate. Cf. **toonan.**
V **baton**, id.
bawang a place.
bawang ec daan, doorway.
gampu nog bawang, village, hamlet.
baya manner.
baya gopia, gallantly.
baya no gotao, human.
palo baya, humbly.
sogombaya
sogombaya nog moloon nog mag leinlein, a relative.
bayad fright.
begas (**begus, bagus**), husked rice. Cf. **bagas.**
bēgēlál important men in a village.
begyaan cultivated field.
bekna first.
belagel shoulder-blade.
belema to-morrow. Cf. **lema, luma.**
belen loom.
belilu
gagun sinam belilu, sound of a gong which summons the midwife to her function.
belintis shinbone, tibia. Cf. **lintisan.**
bencong adze.
V **bingcong**, id.
beninalan (**b** : en : **inal** : an) cultivated field. Cf. **binal.**
locao sog beninalan, cottage.
benoiran (**b** : en : **oir**: an) hill. Cf. **bod.**
atapusan sog benoiran, hilltop, summit.
bengawan (**b** : eng : **awan**) a place. Cf. **bawang, bunguan.**
bengawan nog gobal, a place where smoke may escape from a house, a chimney.
biag servant, slave.
biag nog mitom, a black slave.
V **bihag**, a slave.
bibig lips.
bichara great conferences of the gods and *balian* in the sky, or of chiefs on earth.
bigibigi seed.
bila friend.
V **abian**, id. Kolon, Bima: *bela*, id.
bilibili deer, sheep, goat.
bilin inheritance.
socmicpongon noc cabilinan nogondi socalpogboclagan, patrimony.
V **bilin**, inheritance, patrimony.
biling difficult.
abilingan (**a** : **biling** : an) difficulty.
sogondaay abilingan somala alandon, easy.
nog abilingan nog micaolang, to facilitate.
V **biling**, difficulty, mistrust.
bilu blue. (? English.)
gabilunen (**ga** : **bilu** : nen) blueness.

binaal (b : in : **aal**) to make. Cf. **baal.**
nga binaal bato, to work stone.
binabalay a large table or altar. Cf. **balay.**
binal field of rice paddy. Cf. **baal, beninalan.**
V **baol,** a rice field.
binalan a field just cleared for cultivation.
binaya footprint.
bino wine. (Spanish *vino.*)
binagel sugar.
binocot monk, nun.
gosog sog binocot, abbess.
V **binnócot,** hermit, monk, friar.
binutong (b : in : **utong**).
soyon noc sulut binutong, emblem.
V **ibotang,** on one side and the other.
bingcon arm.
V **bocton, botcon,** id.
bingguil
nocmacabingguil sa gompia nog buot poctobe, detractor.
biring domestic cat.
bisan adverbial modifier used with *alaan* and *alandon,* though, notwithstanding.
V **bisan,** though, notwithstanding.
bitegel necklace.
bitun a star.
genit bitun, a meteor, shooting star.
V **bitoon,** star.
bityala lawsuit.
biyanan the bit of a bridle.
bo (**bu**) or, and.
boangboang (**buangbuang**) imbecile, foolish.
gotao nog boangboang, enchanted.
V **boangboang,** foolish, crazy.
boaya alligator, crocodile.
V **boaya,** id. Bontoc Igorot: *fuāya,* id. (loan word).
bobaan a small basket.
bobaan nog molipotot, a large round basket.
bisan alandon sogbobaan, to put into a basket.
bobó a fool. (Spanish *bobo.*)
bobonayan
bobonayan noc tondo, the space between the knuckles.
bocbaac a little green frog.
V **baqui,** a frog. Bontoc Igorot: *făkfak,* id.
boclag to separate.
boclag ondi somogot, defection.
pocboclag dispersion.
pocboclag soc gotao nga soay, divorce.
boclagon
socmicpongon noc cabilinan nogondi socalpogboclagon, heritage, patrimony.
V **bólag,** to separate in general.
bocposon a little whelp, pup.
bocsoc nail, spike.
boctasan to hiccup.
pocolog nog guilid sopogloguinaoá boctasan, to pant, to palpitate.
bod a hillock or mound of earth. Cf. **bulud, benoiran.**
bogay (**bugay**) to supply; a gift.
bogayan gaco noc tubig, give me water.
malibogayan giver.
pagbogay somala alandon, to form, to shape.
socsocalbogayan nog leen, alienable.
bogguiong a trumpet.
V **bodyong,** id.
bogotondo knuckle. Cf. **tondo.**
bogogu ankle. Kolon: *bungu,* id. Bima: *bunggu,* id.
bogondaay Cf. **daay.**
bogutao a boy at puberty.
boi to fire a cannon.
V **bohi,** id.
boid wages. Cf. **buis.**
gotao sogboid, day laborer.
Bontoc Igorot: *ifu-bowis-an,* taxes.
boktol rump.
bolaan
balagon nog bolaan, a creeping vine.
V **bolácan,** a climbing vine.
bolao red.
poctina noc bolao, to dye red.
V **paolao,** red.
bolibod crown of the head.
bolic poison.
bolig to carry by land.
V **bala,** id.
boligan a large fly.
boligan nong nga abagol, a large wild bee.
boligan macalintoc, a small wild bee.
Bontoc Igorot: *faolĕngan,* bumblebee.
bolit to varnish.
V **bolit,** id.
(**bollo**) **pogbollo** to tire oneself.
bolo ferocious, brave, courageous.
bolo tugaling, ferocity.
abolo
pocgangay noc capintas abolo socog, to enervate, to debilitate.
baga tondong noc abolo no gapoy, ignition, burning.
pocabolo tugaling, inhumanly.
cabolo
cabolo so posong, courage.
macabolo brave, courageous.
(**bolobod**) **sogmogbolobod** revolving.
bolong to heal.
pomolanon pia nog bolong, galium.
sogondaay bolong, irremediably.
pocbolong to cure.
bolong to abandon.
boloog a breeding sow.
baboy talon boloog, sow of wild swine.
boloy
galad nog llayan lanas socpogboloy noc sura soc tubigan, a cane enclosure for catching fish.
bombol fur, hair, feathers (not used of human hair).
poctubo sog bombol nog manocmanoc, to become fledged.
bonal to smite, to strike, to beat.
pogbonal noc penoto, cutlass stroke.
V **bonál,** to beat.

bondyag to baptize.
V **bonyag,** id.
bone germ, sprout, bud.
V **binhi,** id.
bono to kill.
malibonoay sog nga gombata nong mieca, child-slayer.
sogmigbono, infanticide.
V **bono,** to assassinate, to slay.
bonó (**bunu**) enemy, against.
bonoa place, land.
bonoa nog napo, field.
bonoa noc pogbaalan, workshop.
bonoa noc tubigan, puddle, marsh, swamp.
nila bonua noc tiuan, beehive.
bonua nocolonan nocpoc tobora, a spring.
bonua noc pogbalidyyan nongong manoc, cockpit.
bonua nocpoc picnogan nog bonga, place for ripening.
pogdolan nog bunua, to obscure the land.
V **banoa, banua,** place.
bonoal town.
bontal full, replete.
bontol to beat.
pagbontol soc poloapomopoton, to beat cloth.
bonug to hear.
bong
labong yesterday.
lalabong afternoon.
V **cahápon,** yesterday.
bonga Cf. **bunga.**
bongcon
apote doon igbongcon noc ponopoton nong moreipol gobonong mogonao, greatcoat.
booc hair of the head.
gotao nong motaas nog booc, hairy.
caloonan nog booc, false hair.
boocan false hair, hairy.
V **bohóc,** hair of the head. Bontoc Igorot: *fŏok,* id.
boocon to divide.
sogondi maimo guilaso boocon, indivisible.
boogon
gaan noc potocon boogon noc tonob somala alandon nong mobogbog, cakes.
bool
bool noc paa nog baboy, rasher, slice of pork.
boot to judge. Cf. **bout, buot.**
malaat nog boot, hatred, displeasure.
colang sog boot, imbecile.
pocboot to govern.
magboot governor.
pogboot to command.
sogmogboot commander.
sopagboot nogogolingon, imperiously.
bootan judicious, ripe in judgment, mature.
V **boot,** to judge; **bootan,** prudent, judicious.
boros pregnant.
bosa Cf. **basa.**
bosacan to fall into a pit.
bosi spear.
bosi maaron noctalloma, a javelin.
bosi doon ec somagan, a lance.
bota a building.
botang condition.
abotang (a : **botang**) ease.
malaat no abotang, ill at ease.
V **pagcabotang,** manner of being.
botasan habit. Cf. **batad, batasan.**
sogmalaat nog botasan, rogue, swindler.
mibotasan to accustom.
V **pagbotasan,** to accustom.
botis foot.
botomicaon boy. Cf. **bata.**
bout to desire, to like. Cf. **boot, buot.**
boutolon
pogosig noquito nocpogboutolon, howling of a dog.
bu (**bo**) and, or.
bual (**bwal**) a spring of water.
buanan fireplace, hearth.
buangbuang Cf. **boangboang.**
buat to emanate.
buat soc poglibon no gotao, venereal disease.
pigbuatan somala alandon, germ, sprout, bud.
bugay Cf. **bogay.**
bui mountain, forest.
V **boquid,** mountain. Bicol: *buquid,* id: Magindano: *puked,* id. Malay: *bukit,* id. Cf. Samoa: *pu'e.*
buis (**buhis**) tribute, tax paid to chiefs. Cf. **boid.**
pocsuquit noc paldon sogmigbuis, to enroll in a census.
gantang buhisan, a basket measure of rice.
Bontoc Igorot: *fŭys,* taxes.
bukar a small table or altar.
bukid land, field, soil, farm, country (Tagalog).
bukid na sinasaka, land under tilth.
buklug
a. A festival propitiatory of the gods or in general celebration of some memorable event.
buklug puluntu, festival for the aged dead or for those long dead.
buklug pimala, festival for the young dead or for those recently dead.
buklug timala, festival for the infant dead or those dead but lately.
b. a dancing platform.
buksai war-cry.
buktin a sucking pig.
bulac flower.
V **bolac,** flower.
bulan moon, month.
bata bulan, new moon, first eighth of the moon.
gektu bata bulan, second eighth.
gektu gulang bulan, fifth eighth.

bulan—continued.
minsan liu gulang bulan, sixth eighth.
manamat bulan, evil spirits which cause the moon to disappear.
gelektu langit bulan, good spirits which bring back the moon and keep its face clear.
V **bulan, bolán**, moon, month. Bontoc Igorot: *fūan, būan*, moon, month.
bulatúk a spirit bird that determines the best site for a house; if the bird perches on the beams of a new house the site must be abandoned.
bulawan (**buluan**) gold.
bulinga egg.
bulud hill. Cf. **bod.** (**b** : **ul** : **ud**).
buludbulud hillock.
gabuludan (ga : **bulud** : an) hilly region.
bunu Cf. **bono.**
bunua Cf. **bonoa.**
bunga (**bonga**)
a. fruit.
bonua nocpoc picnogan nog bonga, place for ripening fruit.
b. areca palm nut used in betel chewing.
c. kidney.
V **bonga**, fruit.
bunguan gateway. Cf. **bengawan.**
buot (**bout, boot**) will.
paubos nog buot, discouragement.
colang sog boot, imbecile.
penonogonan sogogolingong nog buot, abnegation.
culang nog buot, silly.
V **boot**, will.
buta to enroll.
pogbuta noc pegotaran noc suquit, to enroll in a census.
V **botang**, to place, to deposit.
butaal wild boar.
butang to place, to put.
pocbutang guison, to put into a basket.
V **botang**, to place, to deposit.
buun a jar valued at 12½ piculs of rice.
buyo the leaf used in betel chewing.
buyun swollen neck, goitre.

ca– a composition prefix (Visayan **ca–**). Cf. **a–.**
a. used singly:
cabolo calongas casamoc
calingin capintas
b. in conjunction with suffix **–an** or **–on:**
cabilinan camatayon casayoran
calaatan capolosan catorongan
caloonan
caban box, chest.
poquipos somala alandon soglogua noc caban, to pack into a trunk.
V **caban**, chest, box, trunk.
cabayo (***abayo***) horse. (Spanish *caballo.*)
tundong sa cabayo nga sangol sog baba, bit.
cabilinan Cf. **bilin.**
cabolo Cf. **bolo.**
(**cabolong**) **poccabolong** drunken.
cahoy tree.
camote cahoy, cassava.
V **cahoy**, tree.
calaatan Cf. **laat.**
(**calauat**) **paccalauat** to confess and take communion.
V **caláoat**, to receive in general, specifically to take communion.
calingin Cf. **lingin.**
caliuanag Cf. **liu.**
caliuanag no calingin, warped.
calontinay a large fly.
calongas Cf. **longas.**
caloonan Cf. **loon.**
camatayon Cf. **matay.**
camote sweet potato. (Spanish *camote*, Aztec *camotl*, Quichua *kumar.*)
camote cahoy, cassava.
cana to eat. Cf. **gaan.**
mi naan cana, hast thou dined?
V **canon**, daily food. Bontoc Igorot: *kānek, mākan, măngan*, to eat.
capintas Cf. **pintas.**
capolosan Cf. **polos.**
capote (**apote**) cloak. (Spanish *capote.*)
poclabon sa capote, to cloak.
carongo arrival, coming.
casamoc Cf. **samoc.**
casayoran Cf. **sayor.**
casit to pass.
pocgondaay casit, impassable, impassability.
V **saquit**, to pass.
casoon
casoon guiadman, ability.
catorongan Cf. **torong.**
catubo Cf. **tobo.**
caya this, that.
ulimo caya, return that to.
V **canâ**, this, that.
cisabaon Cf. **sabao.**
coendoc Cf. **ondoc.**
cogool pain.
aba, abagol mo cogool, alas, what great pain.
V **olol**, pain.
colang (**culang**) to lack, to want.
colang sog boot, imbecile.
gongog culang nog buot, silly.
compinsal to confess. (Spanish *confesar.*)
pocompinsal, to make one's confession.
V **compisal**, id.
coné-no-gondao to-day.
conotconot to tuck.
ming conotconot da ig viste, to purse up the gown.
V **conot**, to double, to fold.
congol to dwell.
picongolan habitation, dwelling, lodging.
pocongolan to inhabit.
song mopia pocongolan, habitable.
sogondaay pocongolan, uninhabited.
pocongolan nog nila noc tioan, queen-bee cell.

corala Cf. **dalá.**
pagcorala deficit.
V **pagcaoala,** id.
cota (**cotu**) wall.
cota nog lombos lupa, a wall between fields.
V **cota,** id.
cotat to swing, to move from side to side.
cotecote to weary, to molest.
V **coticoti,** to weary with unimportant details.
cotooto the stomach.
V **cotócotó,** id.
culang Cf. **colang.**
cutao (cu : **tao**) iron. Cf. **potao, tonaoan.**

da no, not.
sogonda, not.
sogonda inog, unseasonable.
da
ming conotconot da ig viste, to purse up the gown.
daag to gain, to win.
V **daog,** to win in battle.
daan road, path. Cf. **dalan.**
casayoran nog daan, itinerary.
bawang ec daan, doorway.
V **dalan,** road.
daan old.
lotang nog daan, ancient piece of artillery.
ponopoton nog daan, old ragged clothes.
V **daan,** any old thing.
daap not yet. (Visayan *pa,* yet.)
ondaapa
golang guisip nogondaapa mobiaray, unliquidated.
lopa mogondaapa balay gorocan bo pomolonan, uncultivated.
ondaapa mooay, unliquidated.
daay no, none.
mananap nong mica daay ngalan, animal which has no name.
daayron there is not. Cf. **taron,** I do not know.
gondaay no, not.
gondaay soboton, idiocy.
gondaay gaom, idiocy.
bogondaay
gotao bogondaay gaom, idiot.
nogondaay
gotao nogondaay sabuton, idiot.
nogondaay masin, unsalted.
lopa nong napo nogondaay magpondopondo, a plain.
pocgondaay
pocgondaay basanon, irreverence.
pocogondaay
pocogondaay sonan, ignorance.
pocogondaay gaom, ignorance.
sogondaay
sogondaay dason malaat pigondian, unlawful.
sogondaay motagam, unskilled.
sogondaay tundongon noc pacanaoron, delusive.

daay—continued.
sogondaay abilingan somala alandon, easy.
sogondaay atapusan pingoc toban, unlimited.
sogondaay pares, unequal.
sogondaay ig doma, unequal.
sogondaay gondoc bo atalao, intrepidity.
sogondaay sinonan, unskilfully.
sogondaay mitagam, unskilfully.
sogondaay pocongolan, uninhabited.
sogondaay bolong bo sopla, irremediably.
sogondaay pocpasaylo, irremissibly.
moggondaay
sog sondalo moggondaay abayo, infantry.
sopoggondaay
sopoggondaay dason, illicitly.
dacsoc compact, solid, massive.
dacsoc soc sogod, to stow cargo.
V **dinasoc,** solid.
dagat sea.
diuata dagat, a good spirit of the sea but harmful if not properly placated.
pusu dagat, the navel or center of the sea.
baling dagat, shore.
V **dagat,** sea.
dagel much.
madagel many.
magdagel very much indeed.
daghan to sell.
dagom indigo plant.
V **tagom,** id.
daig praise.
pogdaig to praise.
V **dayig,** id.
dala to carry.
V **dala,** to bear, to carry.
dalá defection. Cf. **corala.**
V **pagcaoala,** id.
dalag yellow.
poti dalag, the dawn.
madalag (**maralag**) yellow.
daiaga girl, unmarried woman, maiden.
V **dalaga,** id.
dalan road, path. Cf. **daan.**
soc tondong nog dalan, itinerary.
V **dalan,** road. Bontoc Igorot: *djālan,* id.
dali quick, prompt.
dali a manece, go thou up promptly.
dali amo din amo manubua, come quickly for the hunt, ye spirits.
V **dali,** id.
dalinduman (**d** : al : **indum** : an) to remember.
V **domdom,** id.
dalomdom (**d** : al : **omdom**) memory.
pogdalomdom to imagine.
V **panondóman,** memory.
daluan hen.
daluan libuyu, wild hen.
damdam grass mat.
damomog Cf. **domomog.**
danaan Cf. **donaan.**

danao Cf. **lanao.**
danlag Cf. **domanlag.**
pocdanlag nog balod, dashing of the sea, surf.
danol old ragged clothes. Cf. **daan.**
dangal
dangal bahal, a tree growing in the center of the sea (*pusu dagat*).
dao to defraud, a thief, pickpocket.
mogdao a thief.
mogdao motoo tugaling, a clever thief.
pigdaoan theft.
pogdao to steal.
sogmogdadao a thief.
sogmetondong sogmogdadao, thievish.
V **caoat**, to defraud.
daoa a maize-like grain.
V **daoa**, id.
dapig faction.
V **dapig**, ally, partisan.
daro a plow, to plow. (? Spanish *arar*, *arado*.)
soc lupa noc tibagol guinale bo semicoat nog daro, glebe.
V **daro**, id.
daromog Cf. **domomog.**
dason lawful.
sopoggondaay dason, illicitly.
sogondaay dason malaat pigondian, unlawful.
dato rich, renowned.
V **dato**, chief, rich.
datong
pagdatong arrival, coming.
datu (**dato**) a chief.
datu tondo, second finger.
dawat dark water, ink.
dayandayan to embellish, to adorn.
V **dayandáyan**, an ornament of any sort.
debaloy
polog sa golo debaloy bo debaloy, to nod the head.
V **sa luyo ug sa luyo** (**loyo**), to one side and the other.
deec
pogdeec to climb.
delengan a hearth or earthenware stove used by the newly delivered mother in order to "dry up the womb;" the patient lies for several days with her back to the fire sufficiently close to scorch the skin. The same practice has been noted among the Kayan of Borneo.
deliai any moment of time.
deni (**dini**) here, hither. Cf. **dien.**
V **dinhi**, here.
deoata Cf. **diuata.**
depa a fathom.
di no, not.
di poggolat sog bisan alandon, to eliminate.
di a moglingalinga soc simbaan, be not disorderly in church.
di maliag song naan nong mogulang, my parents do not wish it.
di—continued.
di motahap, intrepid.
di gusay, never.
di maaron, dissimilar.
di somama, dissimilar.
ondi no, not.
boclag ondi somogot, defection.
gondi
gondi gangay, disagreement.
gondi maaron, dissimilar.
gondi maglaro, impassable.
nogondi
bal nogondi socal so catorongan, injustice.
socmicpongon noc cabilinan nogondi socalpogbaclogan, inheritance.
pigondian
sogondaay dason malaat pigondian, unlawful.
pingondian dissent.
pocondi
pocondi maimo soc sala, impeccability.
pocgondi
pocgondi soc pinongi, denial.
sogondi
sogondi maglaro, impassable.
sogondi magalin, imperturbable.
sogondi maimo gantoson, insupportable.
sogondi maimo guilason boocon bo suayon, indivisible.
sogondi maimo noc sala, impeccable.
sogondi maimo noc pasaylon, unpardonable.
sogondi maimo nong morala, indestructible.
sogondi maimo pomagon, inflexible.
sogondi maimo posocliyan, immutable.
sogondi maimo uraman, immutable.
sogondi moctoo, inflexible.
sogondi mogbatic, impassable.
sogondi mayac mogbaal moglanglaang, idler, vagabond.
sogondi motaron, unlawful.
sogondi socalpasaylon, irremissible.
sogondi somoon, unskilled.
Bontoc Igorot: *adi*, no, not.
dialum within, inside, under.
dialum noc tubig, under the water.
Kolon, Bima: *di*, to, in, at.
dibabau on, upon.
dibabau palad, the back of the hand.
dibabau noc palapa, the instep.
dien there. Cf. **deni.**
dien iposay, there, behold!
dien ha baba, from the bottom.
dig
manunsuma dig nila, to eat wax.
dila tongue.
V **dila**, id. Bima: *rera*, id. Bontoc Igorot: *djila*, id.
dilo no, not.
dilo mopong, dissimilar.
V **dili**, no.
din hunt.
dali amo din amo manubua, come quickly for the hunt, ye spirits.

dinamog
libong bo bacalan noc tobon nog dinamog bata, a barren female.
dinampak a jar valued at 10 piculs of rice.
dine to be.
dini Cf. **deni.**
dinoksulan a large fire, a conflagration.
dipag across.
pagdipag soc suba so guset, to cross rivers on floats.
V **taboc,** the other side, across the sea or river.
dipuksaya a female spirit living midway between heaven and earth, sometimes materializes as the birds *tibogok* or *guinagan.*
diselum early morning. Cf. **selem.**
ditaas Cf. **taas.**
diuata (**deoata, diwatta**) god.
mangampon sog diuata, thank god.
soc mitondong nog deoata, idolatrous.
pocdiuata to pray.
poccadiuata divinity. (See *dagat, langit, mamanua, matubud, minubu, mitubu, mogolot, sindupan.*)
V **dios,** the true god; **dioata,** a false god, idol.
In the Philippines, in whose tangle of languages the word is of wide and general distribution, it has been suggested that *diuata* derives from Sanskrit *deva.* Not only have we to bear in mind the fact that eastward migration is contrary to the great westward sweep of the Aryan folk, but also that in Indonesia we can trace the comparatively modern Indian influence (circa 300 B.C.) only as far as Java. It seems simpler to derive *diuata* from Christian effort through the Spanish *dios.* The source remaining the same, it is far easier for the Aryan folk to carry the word from *dyaus* to *Zeus* and *deus* and by means of *dios* in the westward sweep of the world than to struggle against the current these few eastward miles. The distinction made by the Visayan is wholly artificial, and a tenuous divarication.
doctoc to buffet.
dogo blood.
sogdogo flux, hemorrhage.
V **dogô,** blood.
doguian
gayo nog doguian, acacia.
dolan a cloud.
pogdolan to overcloud.
pogdolan nog bunua, to obscure the land, to overshadow.
doma equal.
sogondaay ig doma, unequal.
domanlag
socdomanlag, one who makes importunate demands.
domangop (**d** : om : **angop**) to receive, to grant asylum.
V **dangop,** id.
domomog (**damomog, daromog**) the lips.
songag domomog nogombagol bo mareipol, thick lips.
sogmebagolan nog damomog, thick lipped.
donaan (**danaan**) palate, throat.
V **toton, totonlan,** id.
donaoan puddle. Cf. **lanao.**
donding a mud or brick wall.
donini
paca momis donini, how sweet this is.
donlag the day after to-morrow.
V **damlag,** id.
donot to follow.
pogdonot sog poctoon nog balos soc poccano, to be heathen.
V **nonôt,** to follow one physically or morally.
donggoan anchorage.
donggoan tugbungan, port, anchoring ground.
V **donggo,** to anchor; **donggoanan,** anchorage.
dongog reputation. Cf. **rongog.**
sogmalaat bo mogangay nog dongog, defamer.
V **dongog,** to hear, fame, reputation.
doon leaf.
doon gahon socpoctibooc no gatas, galium.
V **dahon,** leaf.
doon to have, to be.
V **dona,** id.
dopê (**dupe**) rain, shower, to rain.
dope nog guinanat, fine rain, mist.
tubig nog dope, rainwater.
pogdope shower, rain.
toon no pogdope marope, rainy.
pocodope shower, rain.
doque to thrust.
V **sontoc,** to thrust with a pointed weapon.
doro to suckle.
pagdoro nonga gombata, lactation.
sogmogdoro suckling.
doso to impel.
V **doso,** to stir, to push.
dosop Cf. **sop.**
dua two.
dua liu, the seventh eighth of the moon.
duapulu twenty.
V **doha,** two. Bontoc Igorot: *djua*, id.
dubdub breast. Cf. **gogdob, gedeb.**
dubdub libun, breast of a woman.
dugnayan
dugnayan ig lanas no gotao mapiaiguindog, gallantry, elegance.
dula saliva.
pocdula to spit.
V **loa,** saliva, phlegm.
dulud knee.
dulungan hen.
dunukun a cloth sieve.
dungus mountain.
gedungusan (ge : **dungus** : an) mountain chain, range.
dupe Cf. **dope.**

ec
bosi doon ec somagan, a lance.
nano ec pogulimo, when wilt thou go?
sapauan ec potao somala alandon, to garnish with iron points.
bonua nocolonan nocpoc tobora ec bo poctuan noc tubig, a spring.
poctaló nogompia pinili ec talonong molomo noc paglangay, fluent.
ecsipan nipple.
edob Cf. **gogdob, gedeb.**
embais (**bais**) beautiful.
empetek short.
tapis empetek, a short skirt, kilt.

gaan to eat, a meal, food of any sort. Cf. **cana, menaticaan, quinaan.**
pagandam nog gaan, supplies, provisions.
gaan noc potocon boogon noc tonob somala alandon nong mobogbog, cakes.
V **cáon**, to eat.
gabang to assist, to defend, to help.
sogicabang defense.
sogicagabang defensive.
mangangabang lawyer.
V **tabang**, to help, assist.
gabasan to cut.
gabe a tuber, edible when cooked; the taro (*Colocasia antiquorum*, Schott).
V **gabi**, a comestible root cultivated in gardens.
gabiganen smallness.
gabilunen Cf. **bilu.**
gabit to speak.
pigagabit talk.
gabo ashes
gabo pagbaloganan, fireplace, hearth.
V **abo**, fireplace. Bontoc Igorot: *tjapo*, ashes.
gabo event.
gabo name, our event.
soc tondong gabo nog mogonao, pertaining to winter.
gabu gray color in the sky.
gabuludan Cf. **bulud.**
gaclop poultice.
V **haclop**, id.
gaco to me.
bugayan gaco noc tubig, give me water.
ganpo mo gaco, pray thou for me.
V **aco**, I.
gacsop
pocoocsop gacsop, imbibition.
gagao to snatch.
V **pagagao**, id.
gagda to impel.
V **agda**, to exhort, to inspirit.
gagen (**gegen**) windpipe, thorax.
gagimút root of a grass used as a medicine in childbirth; it is boiled and the decoction given to the patient just after delivery.
gagoy soot.
sogmigagoyan sooty.
gagun gong. (Malay *gōng*.)
gagun sinam belilu, sounds of the gong which summon the midwife.

gahon
pomolanon doon gahon socpoctibooc no gatas, galium.
gaitan to open a trail, path.
V **gahit, gahad**, pathway about a plantation.
gakpis young.
gakpis malapati, a young tame pigeon.
galabao carabao (Tagalog), water buffalo.
galad fence.
galad nog llayan lanas socpogboloy noc sura soc tubigan, a cane enclosure for catching fish.
V **alad**, a fence, corral. Bontoc Igorot: *ālad*, id.
galiyan a small canoe.
galonaonen Cf. **lonao.**
galuas a jar valued at 1¼ piculs of rice.
galubalu thumb.
galubalu gocsud, great toe.
galunawan a jar valued at 6 piculs of rice.
gama father.
gama nog gapó, great grandfather.
V **amahán**, father. Bontoc Igorot: *āma*, id.
gami we (exclusive).
gamó (**amo**) you.
guindog gamó, stand ye up.
V **camó**, you.
gampo to pray.
gampo mo gaco, pray thou for me.
mangampon
mangampon sog diuata, give thanks to god.
V **ampo**, to pray.
gampu village. (Malay *kampong*.)
gampu nog balay, hamlet, village, settlement of 4 or 5 houses.
gampu nog bawang, id.
gandang drum.
ganit skin (when removed from the animal). Cf. **panit.**
gansur khaki color; **kagansunen.**
gantang a basket holding 2 quarts. (Malay.)
gantang pamukuan, a basket measure of rice.
gantang buhisan, id.
gantingganting earring.
gantiu slack trousers in Chinese fashion.
gantoson to endure. Cf. **antosan.**
sogondi maimo gantoson, insupportable.
V **antos, antosan**, to bear, to suffer.
gangas forehead, brow.
gangay to accede, to agree. Cf. **angay.**
gondi gangay, disagreement.
gangay noc sabot, to accede, to agree.
lompoc gongaya, to unite.
pogangay to facilitate.
V **angay**, fit, just, right, agreeable.
gangay
gangay soc patal, to put balls on bulls' horns.
pocgangay noc capintas abolo socog, to enervate, debilitate.
V **pagpahangay**, to put balls on.
gangol wound, ulcer, sore.
pogangol to wound.

gaom mind, knowledge, power.
gaom socpogbaal, cleverness, efficiency.
gaom noc motondong sogonauna, science of ideas.
sogdoon ig gaom nog poglioat, generative.
pocogondaay gaom, ignorance.
gondaay gaom, idiocy.
gotao gondaay gaom, idiot.
gaoman power.
V **gahóm**, power, strength.
gapal ship.
gapal layag, sailing vessel.
gapal gapoy, steamship.
gapetnen Cf. **pet.**
gapid twins.
Bontoc Igorot: *ăpik*, id.
gapó a parent's parent.
gapó nog lee, grandfather.
gapó nog libon, grandmother.
gama nog gapó, great-grandfather.
V **apohan**, grandfather, grandmother. Kolon: *ompù*, grandfather. Bima: *ŏmpu*, id.
gapog lime.
poglomi no gapog somala alandon, to whitewash.
V **apog**, lime. Kolon: *kâpu*, lime, chalk. Bima: *afu*, id.
gapoy fire.
baga tondong noc abolo no gapoy, ignition, burning.
sogmogota nog gapoy, vomiting fire.
Bontoc Igorot: *ăpuy*, fire.
gapud a stick.
gapulonen Cf. **pulo.**
gare a chief.
pogogovitan somala nog gare so gombagol noc lonsod, idiom, language.
poggare to command.
V **hadi, hari**, king, to rule. Bontoc Igorot: *ăli*, king. Ilocano: *ări*, id.
gasa weak.
magasa to become weak.
V **gasa**, weak, thin.
gasa a cigarette.
gasa saguing, a cigarette rolled in banana leaf.
gasalagnen Cf. **salag.**
gasi fermented rice beer.
minoma sog gasi, to drink rice beer.
pangasi rice beer.
gasintos collar.
V **asintos**, id.
gasol blue. (Spanish *azul.*)
gasoy to define.
V **asoy**, to explain, to define.
gatad to emanate. Cf. **pegotaran.**
poggatad poctolin nog bangot, to get a beard.
sogmegatad initiative.
gatai the liver.
V **atay**, id. Bontoc Igorot: *ătoy*, id.
gataluknen Cf. **taluk,**
gatas milk.
tondong no gatas, milky.
pomolanon doon gahon socpoctibooc no gatas, galium.

gatas—continued.
V **gatas**, id.
gatbang to face. Cf. **tobang.**
V **pagatobang**, id.
gatop (**atop**) roof.
poctolo nongogatop, to rain.
V **atop**, roof of leaves, thatch. Bontoc Igorot: *ătep*, id.
gaui custom, habit.
V **gaoi**, custom, habit, quality.
gauid to govern.
magagauid governor.
gaus wealth.
magaus wealthy, rich.
gawal jacket.
gawas tight trousers in Sulu fashion.
gaya maternal uncle.
gayac Cf. **ayac.**
gayam dog.
gayo tree, wood, timber.
gayo nong motaas, beam, a large balk of timber.
gayo nog doguian, acacia.
aloonan nog gayoonan, raft, wooden float.
V **cahoy**, tree. Bontoc Igorot: *kăyao*, id.
gedeb chest. Cf. **edob, gogdob, dubdub.**
geding (**kuting**) cat.
gedungusan Cf. **dungus.**
geeg throat.
Bontoc Igorot: *alŏgoog*, id.
geg knife, general term.
gegbad
gegbad soong, interior of the nose.
gegen Cf. **gagen.**
gektu
gektu bata bulan, second eighth of the moon.
gektu gulang bulan, fifth eighth of the moon.
gektu gondao, noonday.
geleg throat.
gelektu
gelektu langit bulan, good spirits which bring the moon back and keep its face clear.
gelet following.
gelu pestle.
gemai boiled rice.
gemet finger. Cf. **goyamet.**
gemisnen Cf. **mis.**
genbet a thick coarse cloth used as armor. Cf. **kinopatan.**
genenkan to run.
genit
genit bitun, shooting star, meteor.
geniya this.
genlit a small jar.
getomnen Cf. **tom.**
geyen he, she.
gibas areca nut sliced for betel chewing.
gibasgibas a mouse.
gibusibus breastbone.
giget bowstring.
gigus house cat.
giham mat (screwpine leaves).
gikud (**gigud**) tail.
gilay eyebrow.

gilek armpit. Cf. **guilid.**
gilugu sister, brother.
gimukud Cf. **guimud.**
gina (**ina, guina**) mother, aunt.
V **inahán,** mother.
gineng half.
gineng gobii, midnight.
ginenga half.
ginenga minek gondao, afternoon.
gini this.
ginit (**init**) heat.
ginotau pupil of the eye.
ginubungan womb.
ginulai firewood.
gipianan Cf. **pia.**
gita (**ita**) we (inclusive).
gitit a young chicken.
giyud a small fish-net for one or two men.
goangai
goangai gocsod, small toe.
gobal smoke.
bengawan nog gobal, a place where smoke may escape from a house, chimney.
pocagobal much smoke.
sogmogombal smoky.
gobe sweet potato.
gobe mananap, sweet potato.
V **gabi,** an edible root much cultivated.
gobednarol governor. (Spanish *gobernador.*)
gobii night; calendar day, since time is usually reckoned by nights.
gondao bo gobii, a day and a night, one calendar day.
gineng gobii, midnight.
polupungobii evening.
V **gabii,** night.
goboc to run.
gobol gray. Cf. **gobal.**
mogobol gray hair.
kagobolnen (ka : **gobol** : nen) a gray-haired person.
gobonong
apote doon ig bongcon noc ponopoton nong moreipol gobonong mogonao, greatcoat.
gobot factious, disorderly.
V **gobot,** to disorder, to entangle.
gocabgocab to fan.
goclac blaze, firelight.
gocsip a small wedge.
V **sipsip,** id.
gocsud the foot. Cf. **pocsod.**
galubalu gocsud, great toe.
goangai gocsud, little toe.
goyamet gocsud, a toe.
godaay (**gondaay**) Cf. **daay.**
godlod to hide.
gogba
gogba nog lupa, to survey boundaries.
gogbag to disjoin, to partition.
gogdan notched log used as steps to a house, ladder.
gogdob (**edob**) chest, breast.
gogdob lee, breast of a man.
goglon deglutition, swallowing.
goguis white.
V **ogis,** id.
goit (**quit**) to carry.
pocogoit carriage, transport.
sogmogoit carrier, conductor.
sogmogoit nog bandela, standard bearer.
socnaquit carried.
socsinipit socnaquit, carried in the arms.
naquit
sogmocsogao nong naquit, weeper.
gola
gola maimo, to be able to contain.
golang
golang guisip nogondaapa mobiaray, unliquidated.
golas sweat.
golat
di poggolat sog bisan alandon, to eliminate.
goles sand.
V **balás,** id.
golitao (**go** : li : **tao**) bachelor, unmarried man.
V **olitaoo,** bachelor, less properly widower.
golo head.
golo nogombagol, lintel.
polog sa golo debaloy bo debaloy, nod of the head.
goloan pillow.
V **olo,** head, top. Bontoc Igorot: *olo,* head; *olaoan,* pillow.
gomalin to admit to the house.
gombagol Cf. **bagol.**
gombata (go : **mbata**) children.
gomog (**gomoc, gomot**) hand.
soc pongol so gomoc, leprous (when the hand is mutilated).
V **camot,** hand. Kayan: *kama,* id.
gomolang Cf. **gulang.**
gomot hatred, displeasure, to detest.
socalpoglogomutan, abominable.
V **domót,** hate.
gompia Cf. **pia.**
gompoti Cf. **poti.**
gompulo Cf. **pulo.**
gonagona idea, thought.
so gonagona, ideally.
pogonagona, to conceive an idea, to think.
pagonagona somala alandon, to judge.
tontol nocpigonagona moc nga gotao, fable.
poclabon sacquionaona, to dissemble.
gumauna, to remember.
pocolaen sa gunagona coendoc, amazement.
gunaguna, imagination.
sogmogunaguna, imaginative.
sogsocalgunagunaon, imaginable.
gonaguna, thought.
gaom noc motondong so gonaguna, science of ideas.
pagonaguna, imagine.
V **honahona,** thought, reasoning power.

gonas low tide.
poglogonas rising tide.
V **honás,** low tide.
gonda gland.
gondaay Cf. **daay.**
gondao Cf. **ondao,**
gondemaqui
gondemaqui nongog, enchanted.
gondi Cf. **di.**
gondoc Cf. **ondoc.**
gonlo enchanter, wizard.
V **onglo,** wizard, witch.
gonom six.
gonompulu sixty.
V **onóm,** six. Bontoc Igorot: *inim, enim,* id.
gonopó cousin.
gonos (**gounos**) blow as wind.
gonos nong marisa, bad weather, gale, tempest, storm.
V **onos,** gale.
gontó to hiccup.
V **pagontó,** id.
gonu
poctobo soc gonu soc mga lee, to have a beard just growing.
gongaya to unite.
gongean deficit.
gongog fool, enchanted.
gongog culang nog buot, silly.
inongogongog, foolish in act or speech.
V **hongog,** fool.
gooay rattan.
V **ooay,** id. Bontoc Igorot: *wūe,* id.
good near.
pogood, accessible.
V **dool,** to draw near.
goot Cf. **goit.**
pogoot to carry in a cart.
V **hacot,** id.
gopa bagasse.
V **opa,** id.
gopao to grow bald.
V **opao,** bald.
gopia Cf. **pia.**
gopia very, a superlative.
motaas gopia, elevated.
menaticaan no carne inoctod gopia, minced meat.
bata noc poraigon gopia, spoiled child.
gotao noc socogan gopia, a person of great strength.
goroc to sow seed.
lopa mogondaapa balay gorocan, uncultivated.
gosaca very.
amaaron gosaca, identically.
gosay order.
sogindagosay imperturbable.
paggosay to judge.
pagusay counting.
V **hosay,** to set in order, to solve riddles.
gosig to bark.
sopoggosig no quito, barking.
socmoggosig maloong, barker.
pogosig no quito noc pogboutolon, howling of a dog.
V **osig,** to bark.
gosiná a temporary house used in childbirth.
gosod to obey.
socsomocol so nga gosod, dissenter.
V **sogot,** to obey.
gosog chief.
gosog sog binocot, abbess.
gosog nog lonoon, a chief.
gosog nog balay, head of the household.
gosomnen Cf. **som.**
gotao (**gutao**) (go : **tao**) person, man.
buat so poglibon no gotao, lues venerea.
pocboclag soc gotao nga soay, divorce.
picponnongan nonga gotao, a crowd.
mitondong no gotao, human.
poglogotaoan
poglogotaoan pisala noc paroquia, parishioner.
gounos Cf. **gonos.**
govitan
pogogovitan
pogogovitan somala nog gare so gombagol noc lonsod, language.
pogovitan
pogovitan nog latin, identical, the same.
goyamet finger. Cf. **gemet.**
goyamet gocsod, a toe.
Bontoc Igorot: *kōmaot,* id.
goyan to accede, to agree, to pay deference.
pegoyonan (pe : **goyon** : an) accord, resolution.
V **oyon,** id.
gua outward.
sa gua, outwardly, externally.
V **goa,** far; **sa goa,** externally.
guak (**quak**) the crow. Cf. **gwakgwak.**
gubat war.
V **gobat,** to make war.
guda horse.
gugat vein, artery, blood vessel.
Bontoc Igorot: *uad,* vein, artery.
guging rump.
gui– verb-formative prefix.
V **gi, gui,** a particle which forms passive verbs in the present or preterit.
guiadman Cf. **doma.**
casoon guiadman, ability.
guibid iguana.
V **ibid,** id.
guibog appetite.
guibogan (**guibog** : an) dainties.
V **ibog,** id.
guicoran (gui : **cod** : an) chair. Cf. **guingcod.**
V **lingcodan,** bench, chair.
guien he, she.
mipanas guien, he has fever.
tauago mo guien, call thou him.
posoloron mo guien, tell him to come in.
V **guini,** he, she.
guilan they.
posobaton mo guilan, make them answer.
lompoc nga gotao nog minalsa guilan somocol noc ponuan, faction.
V **sila, nila, ila,** they.

guilas share.
pocguilas to distribute.
sogondi maimo guilason, indivisible.
guilat to lighten.
V **quilat,** lightning.
guilid flank, side.
pocolog nog guilid sopogloguinaoá boctasan, to palpitate, to pant.
V **quilid,** id.
guiling to imitate.
sopocononggguiling, imitation.
sogmononggguiling imitator.
pocpononggguiling
pocpononggguiling noc pomotangon nog megleenleen pocomotood, to identify.
socsocalpononggulingan, imitable.
guilos cat.
mananap momaaron no quilos, civet.
V **iring, iding,** id.
guimood
laroon nog guimood, ulcer, wound, sore.
guimud (**gimukud**) that soul which lives under the crown of the head and never dies.
guinagan a bird in which the female spirit *dipuksaya* sometimes materializes.
guinago
pocponong somala alandon guinago, to form, to fashion.
guinale
soc lupa noctibogol guinale, glebe.
guinanat
dope nog guinanat, fine rain, mist.
guinaoá
a. the breath.
b. that soul which lives in the breath and dies with the body.
pocolog nog guilid sopogloguinaoá boctasan, to pant, palpitate.
V **guinhaoa,** breath.
guindog to stand.
guindog gamo, stand ye up.
poguindog to step on.
V **tindog,** to stand, to be erect.
guinocsip adzing.
V **sinapsap,** chips, splinters; **sapsap,** to work wood with adzes. Bontoc Igorot: *săpsap,* shavings, chips.
guinogdoban hysterical.
guinolal
sog tinangonan noc sa lamin guinolal antocos, spectacles.
guinom to drink. Cf. **gunimom, poinom.**
V **inom,** id.
guinonsola to repent. Cf. **inunsulan, basulan.**
guinonsola soc posong, repent with all your heart.
V **hinolsol,** id.
guingcod to be seated, to sit.
poguingcora sit you down.
V **lingcod,** id.
guionaona Cf. **gonagona.**
guipos (**ipos**) to look.
guiscuelaan (g : **escuela** : an) school. (Spanish *escuela.*)
guiscuelaan noc poctoonan, school.
guisip to count.
golang guisip nogondaapa mobiaray, unliquidated.
paguisip counting.
V **isip,** to reckon, to number.
guisoc
megolos guisoc, to fly into a rage.
guison to put into.
pocbutang guison, to put into a basket.
guison bisan alandon sog bobaan, to put into a basket.
pogguison soc bariles, to put into barrels.
guit Cf. **goit.**
guito (**ito**) dog.
bata ito, puppy.
pagosig no guito nocpogboutolon, howling of a dog.
sopoggosig no guito, barking.
V **ido,** dog.
gulai chief of the *diuata langit.*
gulang (**golang**) old.
gektu gulang bulan, the fifth eighth of the moon.
minsan liu gulang bulan, the sixth eighth.
magulang old, aged.
mogulang parent, elder.
gomolang (**g** : om : **olang**).
gotao no gomolang, old man.
gomolanggolang, of ripe age and understanding, mature.
V **golang,** elder brother, any person past middle age.
gulen a large jar.
gulingan Cf. **guiling.**
gulipun (**ulipun**) slave.
gulu teacher.
gululu an herb medicine administered in childbirth.
gulungan cage.
Bontoc Igorot: *kōlong,* cage, chicken basket.
gumanoc egg.
sumada na gumanoc, to eat the egg.
gumang hermit crab.
gumauna Cf. **gonagona.**
gumi hair on lip and chin, beard.
gumpan bait.
gumut a heavy article of clothing like a blanket.
gunagona Cf. **gonagona.**
gunaguna Cf. **gonagona.**
gunimon drink. Cf. **guinom, poinom.**
gunsulaki a jar valued at 32½ piculs of rice.
gunsulee a jar valued at 150 piculs of rice.
gunud meat.
gunud galabau, beef.
gunud baboy, pork.
guroc to plant.
gusa Cf. **osa.**
gusay always.
di gusay, never.
guset a raft.
pagdipag sac suba soguset, to cross rivers on floats.
gusuk a rib.
gutao Cf. **gotao.**

gutek the thinking power, thought, reason, brain.
Bontoc Igorot: *ūtek*, brain.
gutung (**utung**) monkey.
guyo to urinate.
gwakgwak flying spirits of evil (**manamat**) human in size, feed on men. Cf. **guak.**
gwasay a grubbing mattock; blade 13 inches long, 5 inches wide at the cutting edge and tapering back to about an inch, helve very similar to the American axe; axe.
Bontoc Igorot: *wāsay*, axe, adze.

hatud Cf. **atud.**
hilamon a digging knife, smaller than the *pes*.
huopongon
songa gotao aron huopongon, to form.

ica
V **ica, ig**, a particle of future passive verbs.
icagabang Cf. **gabang.**
ictubig Cf. **tubig.**
ig
ming conotconot da ig viste, to purse up the gown.
iga thou.
igbongcon Cf. **bongcon.**
igbutasan Cf. **batasan.**
igdoma Cf. **doma.**
iggaom Cf. **gaom.**
iglanas Cf. **lanas.**
iglua Cf. **lua.**
iguen to impel.
iin he, she.
ilan they.
ilig
sogpacailig leaning, inclination to one side.
ilu
bata ilu neg libon, orphan girl.
impit exactly.
V **hingpit**, exactly, perfectly.
imud
imud soong, septum of the nose.
ina (**gina**) mother, aunt.
Bontoc Igorot: *īna*, mother.
inangkag dried.
inangkag seda, dried fish.
inda no, not.
soginda gosay, imperturbable.
indamanta let us try.
init (**ginit**) to heat.
minit heat, warm.
panas minit, to be feverish.
minit togaling, very warm, hot.
pacpinit to warm.
V **init, mainit, minit**, id.
inobangan to defend. Cf. **gabang.**
inoctod
menaticaan no carne inoctod gopia, minced meat.
inog ripe, mature.
sogonda inog, unseasonable.
inog—continued.
pacainog ripeness, maturity.
picnogan
bonua nocpoc picnogan nog bonga, a place for ripening.
sogmecpeinog that which ripens.
V **hinog**, ripe.
(**inom**) **poinom** to drink. Cf. **guinom, minoma.**
pocpoinom nong milo, to give poison.
V **inom**, to drink. Bontoc Igorot: *īnumek, maīnum, mangīnum*, id.
inongogongog Cf. **gongog.**
inu spinning room.
inunsulan (**guinonsola**) to repent. Cf. **basulan.**
ipos (**guipos**) to look.
mita ipos, to see at a distance.
dien iposay, there, behold.
isa one.
ita (**gita**) we (inclusive).
ito Cf. **guito.**

jabas
baling somala alandon jabas matas bo moloctin, bandage.

ka– prefixed to cardinal numerals forms ordinals.
Malay: *ka*, id.
kagobolnen Cf. **gobol.**
kaingin forest land cleared and burned over for plantations.
Mindoro: *caingy*, id.
kakud a jar valued at 12½ piculs of rice.
kalamonte the golden scepter used by the guardian spirits of property.
kalau the hornbill.
kaliguan a jar valued at 12½ piculs of rice.
kanuku finger nail.
Bontoc Igorot: *kōko*, nail.
kinopatan cloth. Cf. **genbet, ponopoton.**
kisanggulang the fighting knife of a giant.
kogon a grass of rapid growth, 6–8 feet high.
koingai little finger.
kulagu hair of the body.
kulambu mosquito bar. (Sulu.)
kulis the lines of the palm.
kulintangan a musical instrument of nine small gongs on a wooden frame.
kumpau a fathom.
kumpau matagas, a measure of value of gongs, jars, brasses and durable goods, twice the value of *malinut*.
kumpau malinut, a measure of value of cloth and perishable goods.
kundungan a jar valued at 7½ piculs of rice.
kutapi a musical instrument resembling a guitar with hemp strings.
kuting (**geding**) cat. (Sulu.)

laang to walk.
moglanglaang
sogondi mayac mogbaal moglanglaang, idler, vagabond.
V **lacat**, to walk.

laat bad.
calaatan (ca : **laat** : an) wrong.
calaatan nogombagol, injustice.
malaat bad, ugly, iniquitous.
malaat nog boot, hatred, displeasure.
malaat nog palag, misfortune.
malaat no abotang, ill at ease.
malaat tugaling, evil-doer, corrupt.
nogmalaat fallacy.
moglaat prejudicial.
poalat wickedness.
poglaat to damage.
nog metagam nog poglaat, mischievousness.
sogmaglaat nog dongog, slanderer.
sogpacalaat tugaling, iniquitously.
V **daot**, bad.
labanan to aid, to assist, to help.
V **laban**, to intercede for another, to acquit of blame.
labian
mga gotao socalpalalabian, rabble.
palalabe to abuse.
V **labi**, superior, more than, pride.
labo
pocolabo to fall.
labon to cover.
poclabon to garnish with iron points.
poclabon sac guionaona, to dissemble.
poclabon sa capote, to cloak.
V **labon**, to cover over.
labong yesterday.
labong ec labong, day before yesterday.
labuyu Cf. **libuyu.**
ladawan image, picture.
laen different.
pocolaen sa gunagona, amazement.
V **lain**, distinct, different.
laga price.
pacponoog sog laga, to cheapen.
pacpalaga somala alandon, to estimate.
Bontoc Igorot: *lāgo*, price (from the purchaser's point of view).
laget a chewing mixture of tobacco, areca nut and betel leaf.
batangan laget, tobacco box.
lagi husband, male. Cf. **lee.**
bata lagi, a small male child.
sapi lagi, ox.
V **lalaqui**, male, man. Kayan: *laki*, elderly man. Tagalog: *lalaqui*, male. Bontoc Igorot: *lalāki*, id. Malay: *lakilaki*, man. Java: *laki*, man. Macassar: *laki*, manly; *kalaki*, man.
lagos
malagos lean, thin. (**malangas**, Christie.)
naa malagos tugaling, yes, he is worse.
lagoy to scatter.
poclagoy dispersion.
V **pagcalaguio**, dispersion.
laguas petticoat. (Spanish *enaguas*.)
lainpai small plate, saucer.
lagagunum a war chief of several settlements.
lakas a cigarette.
lakas mais, cigarette wrapped in corn (maize) husk.
laknit a small bat.
lalabong afternoon. Cf. **bong.**
lalag Cf. **dalag.**
lalas hot.
malalas hot, peppery, pungent.
lalis to wrangle, to fight, to be obstinate.
malali yamo mocsasa, be you quiet.
malalison factious, quarrelsome.
V **lalis**, to contradict, to argue, to plead, to fight.
lamin
sog tinangan noc sa lamin guinolal antocos, spectacles.
lamnen all, everything. Cf. **lonan.**
lamo you.
magbaal lamo noc sulal, did you work in the orchard?
V **camo**, id.
lamot to play. Cf. **megleymet.**
lana
gotao noc socogan gopia gombagol nog lana, a person of great strength.
lanao (**danao**) lake, marsh.
miglanao ic tubig, lake.
V **lanao, danao**, lake, marsh. Bontoc Igorot: *tjănaom*, water.
lanas
dugnayan ig lanas no gotao mapiaiguindog, elegance, gallantry.
galad nog llayan lanas socpocbolog noc sura soc tubigan, a cane inclosure for catching fish.
lanayan a young sow.
landasan a sketch. Cf. **laraban.**
laneg lard.
laneg baboy, lard of the wild hog.
Bontoc Igorot: *lanib*, lard.
lankep embroidery.
lansang nail, spike.
V **lansang**, id.
lansuk candle.
lantaka cannon.
lanut hemp, fiber, jute.
langaan door.
langag throat.
langag a bird which builds a sand mound to cover her very large reddish egg.
langan to delay.
alanganan (a : **langan** : an) to delay.
V **langanlangan**, to interrupt, to stop work, to delay.
langau a fly.
V **langao**, every species of fly.
langay
poctaló nogompia pinili ec talonong molomo noc paglangay, fluent.
langit sky.
diuata langit, good spirits of the sky who drink only spring water.
gelektu langit bulan, good spirits of the moon.
V **langit**, sky.
laraban (? **laraoan**) Cf. **landasan.**
laraban nga ologan somala alandon, emblem.
V **ladaoan**, image, picture.
lare king. Cf. **gare.**
V **hari**, id.

laroon sickness.
laroon nog guimood, ulcer, wound, sore.
laroon migalin, syphilis.
laronon (**laro** : n : **on**) sick.
maligat nogpog laronon, he is very sick.
lasag a shield.
Ilocano: *kalāsag*, id. Bontoc Igorot: *kalāsay*, id.
latin the same.
pogovitan nog latin, identical, the same.
V **linatin**, identical.
lauas body.
V **laoas**, id.
layag a sail.
Tagalog, Pampangas; *layag*, id. Malay: *layar*, id. Cf. Samoa, *la*.
layo distant.
malayo far.
V **layo**, at a great distance.
lee man.
lee nog tapolan, rogue, swindler.
balu nog lee, widower.
tiuan nog lee, drone.
gapó nog lee, grandfather.
V **lalaqui**, male, man. Malay *laki*, male, man, married man.
leeg (**leg**) neck, throat, front of the neck. (**gleeg**, Christie.)
V **liog**, neck, throat.
leen Cf. **laen.**
socsocalbugay nog leen, alienable.
maaron nog leen noc pomotangon, identical.
leenleen men, people.
V **lainlain**, id.
leg Cf. **leeg.**
legdey jacket.
leinlein Cf. **leen.**
sogombaya nog moloon nog magleinlein, a relative.
V **calainan**, difference.
lelenaan bottle.
lelenguan joint.
leletek hollow under the knee. Cf. **taktuai.**
lema to-morrow. Cf. **luma, belema.**
lepet meal, ground grain.
lerme (? **lomi**) to spread.
socmoglerme nog basac, plasterer.
leyag Cf. **liag.**
liag happy.
maliag to wish, to like.
di maliag song naan nong mogulang, my parents do not wish it.
Malay: *riya*, joy. Formosa: *reia*, id.
libac fault-finding.
poglibac slander, calumny.
V **libac**, to criticise, to detract.
libaliba to astonish.
poclibaliba, id.
libang to embarrass.
V **libang**, id.
libang to hush children.
V **libang**, id.
libon Cf. **libun.**
libon compact, solid, massive.
libongan peaked house-ridge.
V **ibobongan**, ridgepole; **bobong**, thatch.
libot around.
poglibot so nga linonsoran, to measure around.
alibutan (a : **libut** : an) the world.
malipotot (**maliputut**) round.
V **libot**, to encircle, to surround, to go around.
libun (**libon, libong**) woman.
libon noc poloponan, pregnant.
bata nog balu libun, a widow's son.
balu nog libon, widow.
ponopotan sapis soc nga libon perealon sogduma noc tapis, skirt.
buat socpog libon no gotao, lues venerea.
libong noc tobon nog dinamog bata, barren woman.
libut Cf. **libot.**
libuyu (**labuyu**) wild.
limansud libuyu, wild cock.
daluan libuyu, wild hen.
liga flame.
liga nogombagol, blaze, firelight.
V **siga**, a flame, to blow a fire.
ligo to bathe.
poligo id.
V **ligo**, id.
liingan the acts which are prohibited to widowers and widows.
liluk tattooing.
lima five.
limapulu fifty.
V Bontoc Igorot, **lima**, five.
limalima a jar valued at 5 piculs of rice.
limansud domestic rooster.
limansud libuyu, wild cock.
limayas a smooth spear head.
limbong to defraud. Cf. **lingbon, linunbogan.**
sogmicalimbong delusive.
molimbong impostor.
V **limbong**, to rob, to defraud, to cheat, to trick.
limukun a bird of evil omen; when seen or heard it postpones work.
linagami (**l** : in : **agami**) wild spinach.
V **dagami**, straw, stubble.
linao fair weather.
V **linao**, id. Sulu: *malano*, id. Bontoc Igorot: *alīnoao*, shade.
lines (**l** : in : **es**) to dissolve.
poglines sog quinaan, digestion.
poglines somala alandon sog tobig sog vino, to dissolve.
V **hilis**, to digest, to dissolve.
linok bay, gulf.
linonsoran Cf. **lonsod.**
lintisan the leg below the knee, shin. Cf. **belintis.**
lintisan sising, a ring for the shin.
lintoc
boligan macalintoc, a small wild bee.
linug earthquake.
linunbogan (**l** : in : **unbog** : an). Cf. **limbong.**
soglinunbogan sogpiglologosogan, deluded.

lingalinga to distract.
di a moglingalinga soc simbaan, be not inattentive in church.
V **lingaolingao**, to distract, to divert attention.
linganay bell.
V **linganay**, id.
lingbon fallacy. Cf. **limbong.**
linggit arm ring.
lingin rounded, bent, globular, spherical.
calingin (ca : **lingin**) to twist.
caliuanag no calingin, warped.
somala alandon nong molingin, globular.
V **lingin**, rounded, twisted.
lingulingu a jar valued at 12½ piculs of rice.
lioat to procreate.
sogmoglioat generating.
sogdoon ig gaom nog poglioat, generative.
V **lioat**, to have descendants, to descend from.
lipay to be happy.
alipayan (a : **lipay** : an) joy, happiness.
malipay (ma : **lipay**) happy.
tong na malipay, why are ye merry?
milipay enjoyment, to comfort.
milipay yo nogombagol, I am very glad.
V **lipay**, to be happy, contented, to rejoice, to comfort. Bontoc Igorot: *paley-atjek*, to make glad.
lipu arrow.
lipu pana, id.
lisan a metal scraper.
lisod difficult.
alisod (a : **lisod**) misfortune.
V **lisod**, **calisod**, difficulty, misfortune, inconvenience.
litobong a blow, stroke.
V **hagbong**, id.
liu Cf. **caliuanag.**
minsan liu, third eighth of the moon.
minsan liu gulang bulan, sixth eighth of the moon.
dua liu, seventh eighth.
liut left.
bingcon dig liut, left arm.
llayan canes.
V **caoayan**, id.
load a cocoanut shell used to stir boiling rice.
lobung to bury.
alobungan (a : **lobung** : an) a grave.
poclubung to bury.
V **lobong**, to bury.
lobungan supper, evening meal. Cf. **bong.**
locao (***lucao***) (? Spanish *lugar.*)
locao sog beninalan, cottage.
pacpanilong sog locao, to withdraw into barracks.
locpog to pound, to bruise.
pocalocpog pounding.
locud Cf. **logud.**
log
pocolog to move.
pocolog nog guilid sopogloguinaoá boctasan, to pant.
log—continued.
polog sa golo debaloy bo debaloy, nod of the head.
V **lihoc**, to be uneasy, ill at ease.
logalin (**log** : al : **in**)
paglogalin to alter.
V **lain**, different; **paglain**, to alter.
logmo to blame.
toma a logmo song neen, why blamest thou him?
logoc bay, gulf.
V **looc**, id.
logong to thunder.
V **logon**, id.
logua
poquipos somala alandon soglogua noc caban, to pack into a trunk.
logud (**locud**) back.
V **licod**, id.
lolan load (of ship, cart, beast of burden).
poclolan somala alandon, to ship cargo.
V **lolan**, load.
lolat to hope.
V **holat**, id.
loletoec a bird.
V **toadtoad**, a bird which continually nods its head.
lolid to fall into a pit, cripple.
V **lolid**, cripple.
lologosogan deluded.
lombo fat.
malombo (ma : **lombo**) fat.
poclombo to grow plump.
lombos to divide, to separate.
cota nog lombos lupa, a wall between fields.
lomi to varnish. Cf. **lerme.**
poglomi somala alandon, varnishing.
poglomi no gapog somala alandon, to whitewash.
lomo able, easy.
molomo easy.
molomo mayac, inclined to love.
poctaló nogompia pinili ec talonong molomo noc paglangay, fluent.
pocolomo facility, easiness.
pocolomo balon somala alandon, ability.
sogmolomo easy.
sogmolomo antosan, light, bearable.
sogmolomo moc sogao, weeper.
lomo to educate.
lompoc to gather, to accumulate, to unite.
V **tapoc**, id.
lonan all, every. Cf. **lamnen.**
lonao green.
malonao (ma : **lonao**) id.
galonaonen (ga : **lonao** : nen) green things.
V **lodhao**, green (color).
lonoon
gosog nog lonoon, a chief.
lonsod (**lunsud**) village, region, country.
tontoltontol balos nog mibatog sog lonsod, rumor, gossip.
pogogovitan somala nog gare sogombagol noc lonsod, idiom, language.
linonsoran (**l** : in : **onsod** : an).

lonsod—continued.
poglibot so mga linonsoran, to measure around.
V **longsod**, village, town, any place of human residence.
longarandon
bata noc poraigon gopia bo longarandon, spoiled child.
longas pretty.
alongas to embellish.
malongas (**malungas**) beautiful, good.
paalongas kindness.
looc lungs.
lood
poclood to kneel.
V **lohod**, id.
loon much, many.
pocoloon, id.
pocoloon noc sabao, succulence, juiciness.
V **daghan**, much, many.
loon to place.
aloonan nog gayoonan, raft, wooden float.
caloonan a bunch of flowers or fruit on one stalk.
caloonan nog booc, false hair.
caloonan somala alandon noc tinongol, spun fiber.
socpocoloon mepono, a filler.
V **loon**, to place, to set some things on others.
loonan a crowd.
loop to fill.
V **locop**, id.
loót a knife used by women.
lopa (**lupa**) earth, land, soil.
nogmigbaal sog lopa, a day laborer.
lopa nogompia balan, arable.
lopa nong napo nogondaay magpondopondo, a plain.
lopa mogondaapa balay gorocan bo pomolonan, uncultivated.
cota nog lompos lupa, a wall between fields.
soc lupa noctibogol guinale, glebe.
lupa nong moromos, a marsh.
gogba nog lupa, to establish boundaries.
V **lopa**, earth, world.
lopong exact, just.
somoglopong equalizer.
sopoceglopong identically.
V **topong**, equal, alike.
lopugu tired.
loroon to pass.
pocgondaay loroon, impassable.
lotang to fire a cannon.
lotang nog daan, an ancient piece of artillery.
V **lothan**, any firearm, discharge of firearms.
lotao to float.
somala alandon nogmiglotao, floating..
V **lotao**, id.
loto to cook, to stew.
moloto decoction.
V **loto**, id.
loya ginger.
V **loyalóya**, an herb resembling ginger, good fodder for carabao.
lua a tear.
ig lua, shedding tears, weeping.
V **luha**, id. Bontoc Igorot: *lua*, id.
luang hole.
luang talinga, the orifice of the ear.
luay married.
lubing wild cat.
lucao Cf. **locao.**
lucao nonguinca, hole in a wall.
ludan a hut, shanty.
lugbas to pierce.
soquit nong milugbas, a hole bored from side to side.
V **lapos**, to pierce.
lulu granary.
lulu tongalang, cylindrical baskets of rattan, 5 x 10 feet long, used for the storage of crops.
luma to-morrow. Cf. **lema, belema.**
V **ogma, odma**, id.
lumbia sago.
lunai a resin which is burned to attract wild bees that they may guide the hunters to the nest.
lunsud Cf. **lonsod.**
lupa Cf. **lopa.**
lupag poison used to kill an enemy.
lusung mortar for hulling rice.
Bontoc Igorot: *lūson*, id.

ma– formative prefix.
V **ma–**, prefix which forms adjectives from abstracts, forms verbs neuter and intransitive.
maa (**naa**) yes.
V **oo**, id.
maal elevated.
maasasala Cf. **sala.**
maca– (**maa–**) formative prefix.
V **maca–**, prefix which forms future verbs; also with the doubling of the first two letters forms nouns of agent or adjectives of possibility.
macabagol Cf. **bagol.**
macabolo Cf. **bolo.**
macalintoc Cf. **lintoc.**
madagel Cf. **dagel.**
madalag Cf. **dalag.**
maen the whole areca nut, not sliced for chewing.
maga– Cf. **maca–.**
magagauid Cf. **gauid.**
magalin to disturb.
sogondi magalin, imperturbable.
V **balhin**, to move from one place to another.
magasa Cf. **gasa.**
magatus one hundred.
Tihu: *âtus*. Iliwáki: *àtus*. Mahuan: *râtu*.
magatus bo sepulu, 110.
magaus Cf. **gaus.**
magbaal Cf. **baal.**
magboot Cf. **boot.**
magdagel Cf. **dagel.**

mageleabed the upper arm.
magimpang a pair (of hands, feet, ears).
maglaro passable.
sogondi maglaro, impassable.
magleinlein Cf. **leinlein.**
magpondopondo Cf. **pondopondo**
magulaung Cf. **gulang.**
maimo able. (ma : **imo.**)
gola maimo, able to contain.
sogondi maimo guilason boocon, visible.
pocondi maimo soc sala, sinlessness, impeccability.
V **hino**, to make, to be able.
mainit Cf. **init.**
malaat Cf. **laat.**
malagos Cf. **lagos.**
malalas Cf. **lalas.**
malali Cf. **lalis.**
malalison Cf. **lalis.**
malapati a tame pigeon.
gakpis malapati, young tame pigeon.
malat Cf. **laat.**
malayo Cf. **layo.**
maliag Cf. **liag.**
malibogayon Cf. **bogay.**
malibonoay Cf. **bono.**
maligai spirit house.
maligat very.
maligat nogpog laronon, he is very sick.
maligon compact, solid, massive.
V **maligon**, id.
maligos
maligos ba tugaling, is he worse?
malilang gunpowder.
malimatay, Cf. **matay.**
malinao lemon. Cf. **lonao.**
malinut Cf. **kumpau.**
maliolaon Cf. **olang.**
maliondocon Cf. **ondoc.**
malipay Cf. **lipay.**
maliputut Cf. **libot.**
malisogon Cf. **sogao.**
malobay weak, feeble.
malogou difficult.
malombo Cf. **lombo.**
malomo excrement of a child.
malomo Cf. **lomo.**
malonao Cf. **lonao.**
malonca idler.
malongas Cf. **longas.**
maloong
sogmoggosig maloong, barker.
maloot generously.
V **lolot**, generous, freehanded.
malungas Cf. **longas.**
mama to chew.
mama sog mamaen, to chew betel.
mamaen betel prepared for chewing.
mamanua
diuata mamanua, good spirits which live in great trees and drink rice beer.
mamis Cf. **mis.**
mamatud a daylight ceremony with a lighted torch to awaken the soul of the dead.
managat fisherman. Cf. **polomongwit.**
V **mananagat**, id.
manak paternal uncle.
manamat evil spirits which devour the souls of the human joints and cause a man to take to his bed; they may even take away his breath-soul; three classes are known as **munluh, sarut** and **gwakgwak.**
manamat bulan, evil spirits of the moon which cause it to disappear.
manamu
manamu sog manuk, to eat the chicken.
mananap
gobe mananap, sweet potato.
mananap maaron nog osa, gazelle.
mananap momaron no guilos, civet.
V **mananap**, any kind of animal.
manatud wild pigeon.
manaul a fish-catching bird.
mandawan full moon.
mando to make.
sogmimando manufacturer.
manece to go up.
dali a manece, go thou up quickly.
manisan third finger. Cf. **palamanis.**
manoc (**manuk**) fowl.
manoc nog pogone, cackler.
pogone nong mga manoc, to crow.
tondong song ang manoc, gallinaceous.
bonua nocpog balidyaan nongong manoc, cockpit.
V **manoc**, fowl. Bontoc Igorot: *mŏnok*, chicken.
manocmanoc small fowl with open eye.
poctubo sog bombol nog manocmanoc, to become fledged.
manon
sogmocsamoc sa manon no gotao, molester.
manubu spirits which control hunting; they are described as creatures with reddish or yellowish eyes, black complexion and woolly hair. Christie appositely suggests that thus is preserved a dim memory of the former Negrito autochthons, on which compare the *manahune* (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, page 22).
dali amo din amo manubua, come quickly for the hunt, ye spirits.
manunsuma to eat.
mangampon Cf. **gampo.**
mangangabang Cf. **gabang.**
mangud green, unripe.
manguidaap glaucous.
maomao
song mogmaomao somala alandon, falsifier.
mapalam mango. (**manpalam**, Christie.)
mapia Cf. **pia.**
mapiaiguindog Cf. **pia, guindog.**
dugnayan ig lanas no gotao mapiaiguindog, elegance, gallantry.
maralag Cf. **dalag.**
maranaya (**moronaya**) slope, declivity.
V **hanayhay**, id.

marisa
gonos nong marisa, bad weather.
marongot irritated.
V **maligotgoton**, irritated, annoyed.
marope Cf. **dope.**
masalag Cf. **salag.**
masalagtau a deputy chief (*masalag*, great; *tao*, man).
masin salt.
V **asin**, id. Bontoc Igorot: *ăsin*, id.
mata the eye.
V **mata**, id. Bontoc Igorot: *mătă*, id.
matagas Cf. **kumpau.**
matalao Cf. **talao.**
matamot modesty.
matansa an herb medicine used in childbirth; the leaf is crushed and rubbed on the patient's abdomen during labor.
matas Cf. **taas.**
matay to die
amatayon (a : **matay** : on) death.
amatene death.
camatayon (ca : **matay** : on) death.
pocamatay (poca : **matay**) death.
malimatay (mali : **matay**) ceremony of causing the souls of the dead to ascend into the sky.
V **matay**, **patay**, death; **camatayon**, fatal disease; **pagcamatay**, to die. Bontoc Igorot: *ĭdoy*, *ĕdoy*, *ŏdoy*, death; *mapadoy*, killed; *mamadōyak*, I am dying.
matia lard of the wild hog.
matogos (**matugos**) attentive, diligent.
matubud
diuata matubud, good spirits of the mountains which drink only cocoanut water.
matugas hard.
V **tiga**, hard, tough.
maya inactivity.
maya nia ce pagbasa, read thou quietly.
mayaba long.
mayac worthy.
sogondi mayac mogbaat moglanglaang, idler, vagabond.
mayac Cf. **ayac.**
meaon dwarf.
soc tolipaon meaon, dwarfish.
V **mayahon**, id.
mebang left.
bingcon dig mebang, left arm.
medelem deep.
meebog poor, needy.
megleenleen Cf. **leenleen.**
megleymet to romp, to play. Cf. **lamot.**
megolos
megolos guisoc, to fly into a rage.
melamogampa
balay noc poctonaoan noc potao nog melamogampa nog lupa, iron works.
melanau Cf. **lonao.**
melenin smooth.
menaticaan Cf. **gaan.**
menaticaan no carne inoctod gopia, minced meat.
meneg to sew.
mesequin
mga gotao nog mesequin, rabble.
metagan Cf. **tagam.**
mga plural article.
mi– composition prefix.
V **mi–**, formative particle of present and future active verbs.
mibotasan Cf. **botasan.**
mica demonstrative pronoun.
micaolang Cf. **olang.**
micia small.
migalin
laroon migalin, lues venerea.
migbobolong drunkenness.
miglanao Cf. **lanao.**
milipay Cf. **lipay.**
milo poison.
pocpoinom nong milo, to give poison.
pocmilo to poison fish.
milugbas Cf. **lugbas.**
mimug ripe.
mina first.
minalsa
lonpoc nga gotao nog minalsa guilan somocol noc ponuan, faction.
minanukan a jar valued at 2½ piculs of rice.
minatung Cf. **tong.**
tay minatung, who has come in?
V **mianhi**, to come hither.
minek
ginenga minek gondao, afternoon.
minit Cf. **init.**
minolo na he is gone.
minoma to drink.
minoma sog gasi, to drink rice beer.
minsan once.
Bontoc Igorot: *mamingsan*, id.
minsan liu third eighth of the moon.
minsan liu gulang bulan, sixth eighth.
mintobo Cf. **tobo.**
minubu
diuata minubu, good spirits of the mountains which drink only cocoanut water.
ming
ming conotconot da ig viste, to purse up the gown.
mingopos Cf. **obos.**
mipono Cf. **pono.**
mipupus the dark of the moon.
mirapal a blow given with the snout of a beast.
miremi to come.
nano a miremi, when camest thou in?
mis sweet, palatable.
mamis (**momis**) (ma : **mis**) sweet.
pacamomis (paca : **momis**).
pacamomis donini, how sweet this is.
gemisnen (ge : **mis** : nen) sweetness.
V **tamis**, sweet, agreeable to the taste.
misauta often.
miskinan poor.
mita ipos to see at a distance.
V **quita**, to see, to look.
mitagam Cf. **tagam.**
mitom Cf. **tom.**
mitondong Cf. **tondong.**

mitubu
diuata mitubu, good spirits of the mountains which drink only cocoanut water.
mo postpositive pronoun of the second person singular.
V **mo**, genitive second singular.
mobabaan to bewitch.
mobiaray
golang guisip nogondaapa mobiaray, unliquidated.
mobogbog
gaan noc potocon noc tonob somala alandon nong mobogbog, cakes.
moc
tontol noc pigonaona moc nga gotao, fable.
moc sugooa tundong songuca noc sala, weep for your sins.
mocsasa Cf. **sasa.**
moctoo to bend.
sogondi moctoo, inflexible.
moctuman Cf. **tuman.**
mogbaal Cf. **baal.**
mogbatic to pass.
sogondi mogbatic, impassable.
mogdao Cf. **dao.**
moglaat Cf. **laat.**
moglanglaang Cf. **laang.**
moglingalinga Cf. **lingalinga.**
mogmaomao Cf. **maomao.**
mogobol Cf. **gobol.**
mogolot
diuata mogolot, good spirits whose home is in the sea, yet vengeful when neglected.
mogonao (mo : **gonao**) cold.
soc tondong gabo nog mogonao, pertaining to winter.
V **bognao, tognao**, cold.
mogulang Cf. **gulang.**
molimbong Cf. **limbong.**
molingin Cf. **lingin.**
molió (mo : **lio**) crooked, curved.
pes nog molió, a sickle.
V **balico**, crooked, twisted.
molipotot Cf. **lipot.**
molo (**muru**) face, cheek.
molobay indolent.
gotao nog molobay, lazy.
moloctin narrow.
baling somala alandon jabas matas bo moloctin, a bandage.
molomo Cf. **lomo.**
moloon
sogombaya nog moloon nog magleinlein a relative.
moloto Cf. **loto.**
momaron Cf. **aron.**
momis Cf. **mis.**
momoc to soften.
momoc posol, id.
V **homoc**, to soften, to mellow, to mitigate.
mondoc Cf. **ondoc.**
moneec to go up.
monepes Cf. **nepes.**
moni spear.
moni aron noc taliaman, a spear.
monlogos iniquitous.
V **mamomogos**, id.
monoog to descend. Cf. **ponoog.**
monoog ya, come thou down.
V **naog, noog, manaug**, to descend.
moo to labor.
moo mog baal, laborer.
V **moo**, to toil for hire.
mooay
golang guisip ondaapa mooay, not liquidated.
mopayat Cf. **payat.**
mopia Cf. **pia.**
mopong like, similar.
dili mopong, unlike, dissimilar.
V **topong**, equal, like.
morala to destroy. Cf. **corala.**
sogondi maimo nong morala, indestructible.
V **oala**, to destroy, to ruin.
morein
morein iposay, there, behold!
moreipol thick.
ponopoton nong moreipol, coarse cloth.
songag damomog nogombagol bo moreipol, thick lips.
mori to come, to go.
mori niya, come thou here.
morito ya soc convento, go to the convent.
moromos Cf. **romos.**
moronaya Cf. **maranaya.**
mosocog Cf. **socog.**
mosom Cf. **som.**
mota eye humor, lippitude.
motaon (**mota** : on) blear-eyed.
pocpongimotacan tearduct.
V **mota**, lippitude; **motaon**, blear-eyed.
motaas Cf. **taas.**
motagam Cf. **tagam.**
motahap Cf. **taap.**
motalao Cf. **talao.**
motaon Cf. **mota.**
motaron Cf. **taron.**
motas Cf. **taas.**
motobang Cf. **tobang.**
motondong Cf. **tondong.**
motoo wise, understanding.
mogdao motoo tugaling, a clever thief.
motood (**motuod**) true.
pacpangirongo nong motuod, to abjure.
pocomotood (poco : **motood**) truth.
pocpononggguiling noc pomotangon nog megleenleen pocomotood, to identify.
V **matóod**, true.
munlu gigantic evil spirits (**manamat**) of the forest.
muru Cf. **molo.**
musalabungkas a large neckerchief or shawl worn about the shoulders.
musing dead coals.
musop Cf. **sop.**
mutuon Cf. **toon.**

na he, she.
V (Haraya) **na**, he.

naa (maa) yes, there, take it.
naan
di maliag song naan nong mogulang, my parents do not wish it.
mi naan cana, hast thou dined?
nada chastity.
name our.
V **namo,** id.
nanaan unhappy.
nandao Cf. **ondao.**
nano when.
nano ec pogulimo, when wilt thou go?
nano a miremi, when camest thou in?
V (Hiligayna) **cano, sano,** id.
napo arable soil.
bonoa nog napo, field.
lopa nong napo nogondaay magpondopondo, a plain.
pacanapo tugaling, evenness, prairie.
V **napo,** sandy soil, river flats.
naquilit to imagine.
sogmogunauna sognaquilit, imaginative.
naquit Cf. **goit.**
nati the young of animals.
neen thy.
song neen, to thee.
negmegbata Cf. **bata.**
nenau now.
nenau gondao, to-day.
nepes thin.
monepes (mo : **nepes**) thinness.
V **nipis, manipis, pagcanipis,** thin.
nia thou. (**niya.**)
maya nia ce pagbasa, read thou quietly.
mori niya, come thou here.
nigasoy
sognigasoy sonnem nogayac, lover.
niguan bee.
V **ligoan,** id.
nila wax.
nila bonua noc tiuan, beehive.
pocongolan nog nila noc tioan, queen cell.
manunsuma dig nila, to eat beeswax.
niug coconut fruit.
tubig niugniug, water of the coconut.
niugao coconut grove.
Bontoc Igorot: *inyug, nīyog,* coconut.
niya Cf. **nia.**
niyo you.
song niyo, to you.
sabot tamo uglonan niyo, answer all of you.
no
caliuanag no calingin, warped.
buat socpog libon no gotao, lues venerea.
noc
bugayan gaco noc tubig, give me water.
magbaal lamo noc sulal, did you work in the orchard?
nocmacabingguil Cf. **bingguil.**
nocolonan Cf. **olonan.**
nocpigaguanta
piran nocpigaguanta somala noc tibaan, ignominy.
nocpogbalidya Cf. **balidya.**
nocpogboutolon Cf. **boutolon.**
nocputuonan Cf. **putuonan.**
noctapis Cf. **tapis.**
noctibagol Cf. **bagol.**
nog a particle.
V **nga,** a particle which joins nouns and adjectives or the several parts of a sentence, and has the value of a relative.
nogale
sogsomacay nogale togotan nocponoan, stowaway.
nogayac Cf. **ayac.**
noglana Cf. **lana.**
nogmalat Cf. **laat.**
nogmibatog Cf. **batog.**
nogmigbaal Cf. **baal.**
nogmiglotao Cf. **lotao.**
nogogolingon Cf. **ogolingon.**
nogombagol Cf. **bagol.**
nogomolang Cf. **gulang.**
nogompia Cf. **pia.**
nogondaay Cf. **daay.**
nogondi Cf. **di.**
nogonnos
pocaolog nogonnos, flux, tide.
noguintolo Cf. **tolo.**
nolom
nolom sog lopa, fur seal.
nong a particle equivalent to **nog.**
nongmoromos Cf. **romos.**
nongmotong
somala alandon nongmotong, bristly.
nongog
gondeemaqui nongog, enchanted.
nongong
bonua nocpog balidyaan nongong manoc, cockpit.
nongguiling Cf. **guiling.**
nonguinca
lucao nonguinca, a hole in a wall.
nooc down.
monoog (mo : **nooc**) come down.
ponooc (po : **nooc**) go down.
noquito pertaining to.
noquito noc tiuan, pertaining to bees.
numungini now, at this time.
numunggitu now.

V **ngalan,** a name. Bontoc Igorot: *ngādan, ngātjan,* id.
ngisi a tooth.
V **ngipon,** id.

obos low.
pagobos to fall.
pahubus humility.
paubus nog buot, discouragement.
mingopos to decrease.
V **obos,** to bow, to prostrate.
ocdoc to pound, to bruise.
pogocdoc pounding.
V **docdoc,** to beat, to bray.
ocom to judge.
pogocom to judge.
sogmogocom a judge.
V **hocom,** judge, magistrate.

ocsop to drink. Cf. **gacsop.**
sogmacaocsop imbiber.
pocooc sop imbibition.
V **sopsop,** to drink, to suck.
octuban to complete, to finish. Cf. **tobos.**
sogondaay atapusan pingoctoban, unlimited.
ogasan
gombagol noc palongan noc pogogasan somala alandon, trough.
ogboc to nail.
V **ogboc,** to thrust into.
ogolingon
sopagboot nogogolingon, imperiously.
oglod to hoard.
ola
pogola noc salapi, to waste, misspend.
maliolaon dilapidator.
olang to destroy.
micaolang
nog abilingan nog micaolang, to facilitate.
socmicaolang obstructor.
V **olang,** impediment; **macaolang,** inconvenient, hindrance.
ologan
laraban nga ologan somala alandon, emblem.
olonan
bonua noc olonan nocpoc tobora, a spring.
olungoban burial cave.
ombos later on.
ondaapa Cf. **daap.**
ondao day.
soc mopayat soc sala ondao, ephemeral.
nandao now.
gondao sun, day, daytime.
gondao noc pocponudya, day of judgment.
cone no gondao, to-day.
nenau gondao, to-day.
ginenga minek gondao, afternoon.
salan gondao, day after to-morrow.
gektu gondao, noonday.
sumibang gondao, sunrise.
sindep gondao, sunset.
V **adlao,** sun, day. Kolon: *ando,* id. Tagalog: *arau,* id. Baliyon, Baju: *lau,* id.
ondi Cf. **di.**
ondoc fear.
coendoc amazement.
gondoc fear.
sogondaay gondoc, intrepidity.
mondoc fear.
sogondi mondoc, fearless.
maliondocon (mali : **ondoc** : on) cowardly.
ticas maliondocon, pickpocket.
V **hadloc,** fear.
one to crow.
pogone to crow.
manoc noc pogone, cackler.
pogone nong mga manoc, to crow.
onsa what, what thing.
ontod to ascend.
pogontod to climb.
ontoran to complete, to finish.
ooao
pogooao to become rancid or oily.
orol deglutition.
osa (**gusa**) deer; a Chinese pottery jar, so called from its ornament.
mananap maaron nog osa, gazelle.
V **osa,** deer. Bontoc Igorot: *ŏgsa,* id.
osisang vinegar.
V **cosisang,** id.

paa (**pa**) leg.
bool noc paa nog baboy, slice of pork.
puunpaa (puun : **paa**) leg above the knee, thigh.
V **paa,** foot, leg, paw. Kolon: *paa,* thigh.
paalongas Cf. **longas.**
pacainog Cf. **inog,**
pacamomis Cf. **mis.**
pacanaoron Cf. **aron.**
pacano (**poccano**) heathen. (Spanish *pagano*).
pogdonot sogpoc toon nog balos soc pacano, heathen.
pacapayat Cf. **payat.**
pacasicol Cf. **sicol.**
pacasococ Cf. **sococ.**
paccalauat Cf. **calauat.**
pacpalaga Cf. **laga.**
pacpanilong Cf. **panilong.**
pacpinit Cf. **init.**
pacponoog Cf. **noog.**
pacpoyo Cf. **poyo.**
padang a tall grass of rapid growth. Cf. **kogon.**
padangan (**padang** : an) a grass field, meadow.
pagandam
pagandam pamotangon, to supply.
pagandam nog gaan, supplies.
pagas quickly.
pagbaga Cf. **baga.**
pagbaloganan Cf. **baloganan.**
pagbasa Cf. **basa.**
pagbontol Cf. **bontol.**
pagcorala Cf. **corala.**
pagdatong Cf. **datong.**
pagdipag Cf. **dipag.**
pagdoro Cf. **doro.**
paghat (**pahat**) ladder, steps.
paglangay Cf. **langay.**
paglogalin Cf. **logalin.**
pagobos Cf. **obos.**
pagonagona Cf. **gonagona.**
pagoquion spiritless, dejected.
pagsontoc Cf. **sontoc.**
pagtingil Cf. **tingil.**
paguisip Cf. **guisip.**
pagusay Cf. **gosay.**
pahat Cf. **paghat.**
pahubus Cf. **obos.**
pakanen stem, branch. Cf. **panga.**
palad (**palag**) fortune, luck, happiness.
malaat nog palag, misfortune.

palad (palag) palm of the hand.
dibaban palad, back of the hand.
Bontoc Igorot: *tālad*, palm.
palaksan a bowl.
palalabian Cf. **labian.**
palamanis index finger. Cf. **manisan.**
palapa (pala : **paa**) sole of the foot.
dibaban noc palapa, instep.
palay unhusked rice.
Bontoc Igorot: *pālay*, id.
paldon master. (Spanish *padron.*)
pocsuquit noc paldon sogmigbuis, to enroll in a census.
palina a fragrant resin burned as incense in religious ceremonies.
palobaya (palo : **baya**) humbly.
palon to extinguish.
pocpalon, id.
V **palong,** id.
palongan trough.
V **palongan,** id.
palos skein, hank.
V **palos,** id.
pamotangon
pagandam pamotangon, to supply.
pamuku tax, tribute paid to chiefs. Cf. **buis.**
gantang pamukuan, a basket measure of rice.
pana the bow.
lipu pana, arrow.
V **paná,** arrow, to shoot an arrow.
panas fever.
panas minit, to be feverish.
mipanas guien, he has fever.
V **hilánat,** fever.
panday carpenter.
panday potao, blacksmith.
panday negmegbata, midwife.
V **panday,** to work at one's trade.
pandayan (panday : an) ironworks, forge.
pandiawal a bitter vine.
panilong (ponilong) to admit to the house, to grant asylum.
pacpanilong sog locao, to withdraw into barracks.
V **panilong**, to admit to the house.
panimolang depressed.
pocpanimolang, to become low-spirited.
panit skin (when on the animal). Cf. **ganit.**
bakes panit, a leather belt.
pulo panit, a red or brown skin.
pansal a wedge.
panungo a chief superior to a *timuai.*
panga a branch. Cf. **pakanen.**
tongdug panga, a half-grown monkey.
panganen (panga : nen) a branch.
V **sanga,** id. Bontoc Igorot: *pănga*, id.
pangangdan the light.
pangasi Cf. **gasi.**
panggu turban, handkerchief. (**pang-yu,** Christie.)
pangirongo
pocpangirongo nong motuod, to abjure.
panglamugan a dye.
pares equal. (Spanish *par.*)
sogondaay pares, unequal.
pasagdan to abandon.
V **pasagad,** id.
pasawit a large fishnet.
pasaylo pardon. Cf. **poylo.**
sogondaay pocpasaylo, irremissibly.
sogondi maimo noc pasaylon, unpardonable.
V **pasaylo,** to pardon.
pasek a post. Cf. **pasoc.**
pasobong false hair; hemp fiber or grass tied in a woman's hair for adornment.
pasoc to nail.
pasub the measure of a large jar of rice beer.
pat (upat) four.
patpulu forty.
V **opat,** four. Bontoc Igorot: *ipăt, apăt*, id.
patal
gangay soc patal, to put balls on.
patay (matay) to die.
pocpatay to die.
pocpatay bisan tonogbata nong mica, infanticide.
pogpatayon (pog : **patay** : on) death.
V **patay,** anything dead. Kolon: *pahâte*, to kill. Bima: *hade*, id.
patik tattooing.
Bontoc Igorot: *fātek*, tattoo.
patod brother.
V **patod,** id.
patubuun a domestic animal.
paubos Cf. **obos.**
payat to delay, late.
mopayat late.
pacapayat delay.
socmopayat soc sala ondao, ephemeral.
payung umbrella.
Bontoc Igorot, Ilocano: *pāyong*, id.
pedes sunshine.
peed to slander.
pocpeed slander, defamation.
sogpopeed defamer, slanderer.
peen
pocpeen to alter.
V **baihon,** physiognomy, appearance; to alter.
pegotaran origin, beginning, germ, sprout, bud. (pe : **gatad** : an.)
pegotaran somala alandon, initiative.
pogbuta noc pegotaran noc suquit, to enroll in a census.
pegoyonan Cf. **goyon.**
peinan to distinguish.
socalpeinan distinguishable.
penongonan
penongonan sogogolingong nog buot, abnegation.
penoto (penoti, penuti) knife, cutlass.
penote nogombagol, machete.
pogbonal noc penoto, cutlass stroke.
pensa
poquison soc pensa somala alandon, to store.
perealon under, beneath.
ponopotan sapis soc nga libon perealon sog duma noc tapis, petticoat.

pĕs chopping knife, 14-inch blade, head round or square.
pes nog molió, sickle.
pet bitter.
umpet bitter.
gapetnen (ga : **pet** : nen) bitterness.
pia good.
gipianan (gi : **pia** : nan) benefit.
gompia (**gopia**) (go : **pia**) good conduct.
mapia (**mopia**) (ma : **pia**) good.
song mopia pocongolan, habitable.
nogompia well.
suguiton nia nogompia soc sulat, write well thy page.
sagompia
noc macabingguil sagompia nog buot poctobe, detractor.
sopogopia ignominiously.
picnogan Cf. **inog.**
picongolan Cf. **ongolan.**
picpongonnan Cf. **pongon.**
pictoonan Cf. **toon.**
pigagabit Cf. **gabit.**
pigbuatan Cf. **buat.**
pigdaoan Cf. **dao.**
pigonagona Cf. **gonagona.**
pigondian Cf. **di.**
pila ant.
pilac to launch a ship.
pilak a fighting companion, ordinary soldier.
pilak silver money (Sulu).
Bontoc Igorot: *bilak*, money.
pilaten eyelid.
pileka eyelash.
pili to elect, to choose.
V **pili**, to elect, to choose, to select. Bontoc Igorot: *pilĕek*, *mapĭli*, id.
pilong impeded, cripple. Cf. **pitong.**
pimala
buklug pimala, a festival for the young dead or those recently dead; formerly men were sacrificed but now a cock suffices.
pimoctong Cf. **tong.**
pimola borage, wild spinach, creeping vine. Cf. **pomolanon.**
pimolaen a garden.
pimonan
gotao pimonan, merchant, factor.
pinili (**pinuli**) good.
poctaló nogompia pinili, fluent in speech.
pinilian to abdicate; wicked people.
socpinilian wicked.
V **pinilian**, the wicked.
pinit Cf. **init.**
pinobalan a working knife used also in fighting. Cf. **baal.**
pinongi
pocgondi soc pinongi, denial.
pinoquit
socpinoquit leprous.
pintas brave, fierce.
pintasan ferocious.
capintas (**apintas**) brave.
pocgangay noc capintas abolo socog, to enervate, to debilitate.
V **pintas**, id.
pinugulan the wrist.
pinuli (**pinili**) good.
socpinuli, id.
pinuti Cf. **penoto.**
pinggan a plate for food. (? **gaan.**)
pingoctoban Cf. **octuban.**
pingondian Cf. **di.**
piran shame.
nog piran, ignominiously.
piran nocpigaguanta somala noc tibaan, ignominy.
pisala
poglogotaoan pisala noc paroquia, parishioner.
pisaligan
pisaligan noc comerciante, factor, merchant.
pitangan fish basket.
pitong to cripple. Cf. **pilong.**
pitu seven.
pitupulu seventy.
V **pitó**, seven. Bontoc Igorot: *pĭtó*, id.
po hortatory prefix.
V **pa**, prefixed to verbs gives them the signification to seek, to demand, to procure the action of the root.
poalat Cf. **laat.**
pobianan
tugaya noc pobianan noc tubig, water conduit.
poc– verb formative prefix.
V **pag, paga**, id.
pocabolo Cf. **bolo.**
pocagagom Cf. **agom.**
pocagobal Cf. **gobal.**
pocalocpog Cf. **locpog.**
pocamatay Cf. **matay.**
pocaoid Cf. **aoid.**
pocaolog
pocaolog nogonnos, flux, tide.
pocbalos Cf. **balos.**
pocbasa Cf. **basa.**
pocbiyan to pass.
pocboclag Cf. **boclag.**
pocbolong Cf. **bolong.**
pocboot Cf. **boot.**
pocca formative prefix.
V **pagca–**, prefix formative of abstract nouns, verbal nouns and infinitives passive.
poccabolong Cf. **cabolong.**
poccadiuata Cf. **diuata.**
poccasala Cf. **sala.**
pocdanlag Cf. **danlag.**
pocdiuata Cf. **diuata.**
pocdula Cf. **dula.**
pocgangay Cf. **gangay.**
pocgondaay Cf. **daay.**
pocgondi Cf. **di.**
pocguilas Cf. **guilas.**
poclabon Cf. **labon.**
poclagoy Cf. **lagoy.**
poclibaliba Cf. **libaliba.**
poclolan Cf. **lolan.**
poclombo Cf. **lombo.**
poclood Cf. **lood.**
poclubung Cf. **lobung.**
pocmilo Cf. **milo.**

poco formative prefix.
V **pagca**, a particle wherewith are formed abstract nouns, verbal nouns and infinitives passive.
pocobaga Cf. **baga.**
pocodope Cf. **dope.**
pocogodaay Cf. **daay.**
pocogoit Cf. **goit.**
pocogondaay Cf. **daay.**
pocolabo Cf. **labo.**
pocolaen Cf. **laen.**
pocolog Cf. **log.**
pocologya Cf. **pocoloya.**
pocolomo Cf. **lomo.**
pocoloon Cf. **loon.**
pocoloya (**pocologya**) weak, infirm.
V **pagcaloya**, id.
pocomotood Cf. **motood.**
pocondi Cf. **di.**
pocongolan Cf. **congol.**
pocoocsop Cf. **ocsop.**
pocoromos Cf. **romos.**
pocpalon Cf. **palon.**
pocpanimolang Cf. **panimolang.**
pocpangirongo Cf. **pangirongo.**
pocpasaylo Cf. **pasaylo.**
pocpatay Cf. **patay.**
pocpeed Cf. **peed.**
pocpeen Cf. **peen.**
pocpoc a stroke with a cutlass, a slash.
pocpoli Cf. **poli.**
pocponicol Cf. **ponicol.**
pocpono Cf. **pono.**
pocpononggguiling Cf. **guiling.**
pocponudya Cf. **ponudya.**
pocpongimotacan Cf. **mota.**
pocpongompig Cf. **pongompig.**
pocposinao Cf. **posinao.**
pocposoon Cf. **posoon.**
pocpoylo Cf. **poylo.**
pocpuasa Cf. **puasa.**
pocpuli Cf. **puli.**
pocquilas Cf. **guilas.**
pocquipos Cf. **quipos.**
pocsaloy Cf. **saloy.**
pocsambag Cf. **sambag.**
pocsicay Cf. **sicay.**
pocsindilsindil Cf. **sindil.**
pocsobblag Cf. **sobblag.**
pocsobo Cf. **sobo.**
pocsocay Cf. **sacay.**
pocsod foot. Cf. **gocsud.**
pocsoganan Cf. **sogao.**
pocsogo Cf. **sogo.**
pocsolog Cf. **solog.**
pocsopang Cf. **sopang.**
pocsopoc Cf. **sopoc.**
poctaab Cf. **taab.**
poctago Cf. **tago.**
poctalo Cf. **talo.**
poctare Cf. **tare.**
poctina Cf. **tina.**
poctobang Cf. **tobang.**
poctoboson Cf. **tobos.**
poctolin Cf. **tolin.**
poctolo Cf. **tolo.**
poctoman Cf. **tuman.**
poctontal Cf. **tontal.**
poctontol Cf. **tontol.**
poctontong Cf. **tontong.**
poctuan Cf. **tuan.**
poctuba Cf. **tuba.**
poctubo Cf. **tobo.**
pogambit Cf. **ambit.**
pogangay Cf. **angay.**
pogangol Cf. **gangol.**
pogbaal Cf. **baal.**
pogbaat Cf. **baat.**
pogboclagon Cf. **boclagon.**
pogbogay Cf. **bogay.**
pogbollo Cf. **bollo.**
pogbonal Cf. **bonal.**
pogboot Cf. **boot.**
pogbuta Cf. **buta.**
pogdaig Cf. **daig.**
pogdalomdom Cf. **dalomdom.**
pogdao Cf. **dao.**
pogdeec Cf. **deec.**
pogdolan Cf. **dolan.**
pogdonot Cf. **donot.**
pogdope Cf. **dope.**
poggare Cf. **gare.**
poggatad Cf. **gatad.**
poggolat Cf. **golat.**
pogguison Cf. **guison.**
poglaat Cf. **laat.**
poglibac Cf. **libac.**
poglibot Cf. **libot.**
poglines Cf. **lines.**
poglioat Cf. **lioat.**
pogliquimo to form, to shape.
V **paghimo**, to form, to make, to fashion.
poglogomutan Cf. **gomot.**
poglogonas Cf. **gonas.**
poglogotaoan Cf. **gotao.**
poglomi Cf. **lomi.**
pogocdoc Cf. **ocdoc.**
pogocom Cf. **ocom.**
pogogasan Cf. **ogasan.**
pogogovitan Cf. **govitan.**
pogola Cf. **ola.**
pogonagona Cf. **gonagona.**
pogone Cf. **one.**
pogontod Cf. **ontod.**
pogooao Cf. **ooao.**
pogood Cf. **good.**
pogoot Cf. **goot.**
pogosig Cf. **gosig.**
pogovitan Cf. **govitan.**
pogpatayon Cf. **patay.**
pogsocasoca Cf. **soca.**
pogtolog Cf. **tolog.**
pogugba to whitewash. Cf. **gapog**, lime.
poguindog Cf. **guindog.**
poguingcora Cf. **guingcod.**
poguit Cf. **goit.**
pogulatay Cf. **ulatay.**
pogulimo Cf. **ulimo.**
poinom Cf. **inom.**
poli to revoke.
pocogondaay pocpoli, irrevocability.
poligo Cf. **ligo.**
poloaponopoton clothing. Cf. **ponopoton.**
pagbontol soc poloaponopoton, to beat clothes.

polog Cf. **log.**
polomongwit fisherman. Cf. **managat.**
poloponan
libon noc poloponan, pregnant.
polos gain, profit.
capolosan (ca : **polos** : an) gain.
V **polos,** id.
polupungobii evening. Cf. **gobii.**
pomagon flexible.
sogondi maimo pomagon, inflexible.
pombaal Cf. **bal.**
pomoctong Cf. **tong.**
pomolanon a plant. Cf. **pimolaen.**
pomolanon pia nog bolong, galium.
pomolanon doon gahon soc poctibooc no gotas, galium.
lopa mogondaapa balay pomolonan, uncultivated.
pomotangon the same.
maaron nog leen noc pomotangon, identical.
pocpononggu iling noc pomotangon nog megleenleen pocomotood, to identify.
ponbaal Cf. **bal.**
(**pondopondo**) **magpondopondo.**
lopa nong napo nogondaay magpondopondo, a plain.
ponicol Cf. **sicol.**
pocponicol to set the feet firmly for an effort.
V **panicad,** id.
ponilong Cf. **panilong.**
ponno to complete, to finish. Cf. **pono.**
V **ponó,** to fill, to augment, to complete.
pono (**punu**) to fill.
mipono
mipono noc sayop, evil doer.
socpocoloon mipono, filler.
songmipono full.
pocpono noc tubig somala alandon, to fill with water.
V **ponó,** to fill, to be full of, to be skilled in. Bima: *kampŏnu*, to fill. Bontoc Igorot: *pŭnek*, id.
pono close, solid, massive.
ponoan (**ponuan**) governor. Cf. **poon.**
sogsomacay nogale togotan noc ponoan, stowaway.
lompoc nga gotao nog minalsa guilan somocol noc ponuan, faction.
V **ponoan,** governor, lord.
ponolud the farewell or final ceremony of a *buklug*.
ponongangan father-in-law, mother-in-law.
ponongguian model.
V **panigingnan,** model, type, sample; **ingon,** like.
ponooc (**ponoog**) to go down, to come down. Cf. **monoog.**
pacponoog sog laga, to cheapen.
V **naog,** id.
ponopoton clothing.
ponopoton nog daan, old and ragged clothes.
ponopoton nong moreipol, coarse cloth.
poloaponopoton (poloa : **ponopoton**) clothing.
V **panápton,** clothes.
ponuan Cf. **ponoan.**
ponudya to judge.
gondao noc pocponudya, judgment day.
pongol to mutilate.
socpongol so gomoc, leprous.
V **pongol,** to mutilate.
pongompig Cf. **gompulo.**
pocpongompig, to dye red.
pongon to unite, to gather, to accumulate.
picpongonnan no nga gotao, a crowd.
socmicpongon noc cabilinan nogondi socalpocboclagon, patrimony.
V **ipon,** to join, to unite, to dwell.
pongong to hold.
pocpongong to attach, to seize.
pocpongong somala alandon guinago bo songa gotao aron huopongon, to form, to draw up troops.
macapongong obstructor.
V **pogong,** to hold, to catch, to seize.
poon leader. Cf. **ponoan.**
poon sog mololison, leader of rebels.
poon sog lunsud, chief.
popia cap, hat.
poporenion
poporenion mo sog asa-real, tell him to come to the palace.
V **paanhion,** to bid come here.
poquicot to chain.
V **hocot,** to make a net.
poquison
poquison soc pensa somala alandon, to store.
poquit detractor.
porá hunger.
poraigon (**poraygon**) flattering.
bata noc poraigon gopia, spoiled child.
V **padayigon,** a vain and presumptuous person.
porang to cure meat with salt and smoke.
V **bolad,** to dry in the sun.
porongporong a crown.
V **podong,** a garland, crown, turban.
porot old and ragged clothes.
posinao varnish.
pocposinao varnishing.
V **pasinao,** id.
posobaton Cf. **sabot.**
posocliyan to change.
sogondi maimo posocliyan, immutable.
posol
momoc posol, to soften.
posoloron Cf. **solot.**
posong heart.
guinonosola soc posong, repent with all your heart.
cabolo so posong, courage.
V **tagiposóon,** heart.
V **tagiposóon,** heart. Bontoc Igorot: *pōso*, id.
posongú a religious ceremony at the end of the year and the beginning of the new year. In these ceremonies good luck and success are determined by the phases of the moon, the grouping of the stars, the throwing of a rope and its resultant contour when it lies upon the ground,

posongú—continued.
the twirling of a rattan and the position at which it comes to rest.
(**posoon**) **pocposoon** to ascertain.
posui chick.
potao iron. Cf. **cutao, tonaoan.**
panday potao, blacksmith.
pagbaga noc potao, to weld iron.
sapauan ec potao somala alandon, to garnish with iron points.
V **pothao,** iron.
poti (**pote, puti**) white.
poti dalag, the dawn.
gompote (go[m] : **poti**) white.
pocpoti (poc : **poti**) to whiten, to bleach.
V **poti,** white.
potocon
gaan noc potocon, cakes.
potol to cut, to divide.
V **potol,** id.
poylo Cf. **pasaylo.**
pocpoylo to pardon.
V **saylo,** id.
poyo from side to side.
pacpoyo to swing, to move from side to side.
poyoan (**puyuwan**) a small bed.
puasa to fast.
pocpuasa fasting.
V **poasa,** fast.
pugan a tree with a large banana-like leaf.
pulas fire-making by friction of wood.
puli
puli musop, again.
pocpuli to repay.
V **balos,** again.
pulo red.
pulo panit, red or brown skin.
gompulo (go[m] : **pulo**) red.
gopulonen (go : **pulo** : nen) redness of the sky.
V **pola,** red.
puluntú ceremony of raising the souls of the dead.
puluntu nog malimatay, the ceremony of causing the souls of the dead to ascend into the sky.
buklug puluntu, a funeral ceremony for the aged dead or for those long dead.
pulut boiled rice offered on the altars of the gods.
pumutul lemon.
punanen
alaik punanen, why, the reason.
puntian Cf. **tian.**
puonan
socpuonan to waste, to misspend.
V **pohónan,** business capital, interest.
pusilau rain, a light shower.
pusu navel.
pusu dagat, the navel or center of the sea.
tian noc pusu, calf of *pusu* we find an
In this use of *tian noc* the leg.
interesting, yet not exactly elucidatory,

pusu—continued.
parallel in Efaté, where the calf of the leg is dominated as here by terms proper to the abdomen. In his work *Oceanic La-n guages*, Dr. Macdonald (s.v. *ātĕ*) points out that *uateau natore*, literally kidneys of the shin, designates the calf, and that the same use is extended to *atevae* in Samoan, the liver of the leg or calf, and to *aterima* in Tahiti, the liver of the arm or thick part of the arm. Upon this matter I have made such note as the data suggested (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, page 321). It is proper to mention that the arrival of this new material may open the subject for further discussion; certainly this instance of the description of leg anatomy in abdominal terms is very interesting. We should observe that in *tian noc pusu* both nouns pertain to the belly; there is nothing to suggest the leg, as is the case in Efaté, Samoa, and Tahiti.
Bontoc Igorot: *baosig*, navel.
puti Cf. **poti.**
putok grain.
putuonan Cf. **toon.**
mutuon na noc putuonan, did you study the lesson?
puunpaa the leg above the knee, the thigh. Cf. **paa.**
puyuwan (**poyoan**) cradle, hammock.

quak (**guak**) the crow. (Visayan, *awak;* Magindano, *kuak;* Sulu, *wak;* Tagalog, *wak;* Malay, *gagak;* Yakan, *uwak.*)
quilas (**guilas**) to share.
pocquilas to impart.
quina– formative prefix.
V **quina**– a composition member of preterit verbs.
quinaan (**g**[qu] : in : **aan**) food.
poglines sog quinaan, digestion.
quinaanglan (quina : **ang**[o]**l** : an) to need, to lack.
V **quinahanglan,** id.; **hangol,** poor, needy.
quipos to pack.
pocquipos to barrel, to store.
pocquipos somala alandon sog loqua noc caban, to pack into a trunk.
V **hipos,** to hoard, to store up.

romos wet.
moromos (mo : **romos**) wet.
lupa nong moromos, a marsh.
pocoromos (poco : **romos**) moisture.
rongog (**ronug, dongog**) to hear.
pogangay nog rongog, defamation, slander.

sa an article.
V **sa,** nominative article with proper nouns.
sa one.
V **osá,** id. Bontoc Igorot: *ĭsa*, id.

saa a sprout, shoot.
songoc saa mintobo noc salalis, a bunch of flowers or fruit on a single stalk.
V **saha**, shoot, sprout.
saac to ask, to question, to inquire.
V **socna**, to inquire, to ask.
saayan Cf. **sacay.**
sabab because, reason, cause. (Arabic.)
alaik sabab, why, the reason.
sabao juice.
pocoloon noc sabao, succulence, juiciness.
sogdoon cisabaon, juicy.
sabay to dance.
V **sabay**, id.
sabilino onion.
sabot (**sabut**, **sobot**) to understand, to comprehend, to agree.
gangay noc sabot, to accede, to agree.
sabot tamo uglonan niyo, answer all of you.
saboton
gondaay saboton, idiocy.
gotao nogondaay saboton, idiot.
posobaton mo guilan, make them answer.
V **sabot**, to understand, to comprehend, to agree.
sac Cf. **soc, sog, sag.**
sacay (**socay**) boat, ship, vessel.
pocsacay embarking, shipping.
pocosacay id.
saayan vessel, boat.
somacay (**s** : om : **acay**)
sog somacay nogale togotan noc ponoan, stowaway.
V **sacay**, boat, ship, to embark, to sail.
sacguionaona Cf. **gonagona.**
sacog parishioner.
V **sacop**, id.
sag Cf. **sac, soc, sog.**
pacpanilong sag locao, to withdraw into barracks.
sagatad impostor.
sagompia Cf. **pia.**
saguing banana.
gasa saguing, a cigarette wrapped in banana leaf.
V **saguing**, id. Bontoc Igorot: *săking*, id.
saguit (**suguit**) to write.
suguiton nia nogompia soc sulat, write well thy page.
sala sin, evil doer.
songuca noc sala, thy sins.
pocondi maimo soc sala, impeccability.
sogondi maimo noc sala, impeccable.
maasasala sinner.
poccasala to sin.
V **sala**, sin, fault, error.
sala (**sa, isa**) one.
socmopayat soc sala ondao, ephemeral.
salabuk one.
salabuk tondo, first finger.
salag (**salang**) a nest.
salag great.
masalag (**ma** : **salag**) large.
tubig masalag, a river.

salag—continued.
gasalagnen (**ga** : **salag** : nen) greatness, magnitude, a person great in mind or power.
salalis
songoc saa mintobo noc salalis, a bunch of flowers or fruit on a single stalk.
salamin looking-glass.
Bontoc Igorot: *sălming*, id.
salan
salan gondao, day after to-morrow.
salapang fish spear (Sulu).
salapi money, coin, silver.
timod noc salapi, to hoard.
pogola noc salapi, to waste, to misspend, to squander.
salapian (**salapi** : an) rich, renowned.
lee nog salapian, wealthy man.
V **salapi**, money. Bontoc Igorot: *sălapi*, half peso.
salau earth, ground.
saleg floor.
salidingan bunches of long strips of *anahau* leaves carried when dancing around the altar.
saliling a deputy chief.
salomaya a tree under whose shade spirits rest and sleep when they come to earth.
saloy to buy.
pocsaloy merchant, factor, to sell.
somaloy (**sumalui**) (**s** : om : **aloy**) to buy.
salumnenka to rob, to steal.
salwal trousers (Sulu).
sama similar, like, equal.
sama gotao, fellow creature.
sopocsama identical.
pocsama identity.
somogsama to equalize.
somama (**s** : om : **ama**) similar.
di somama, dissimilar.
V **sama**, equal, like, similar. Kolon: *săma*, with. Bima: *sama*, id.
sambag to exhort.
pocsambag to instruct.
senombagan (**s** : en : **ombag** : an) to instruct.
V **sambag**, to counsel, to exhort, to instruct.
samoc to weary, to vex, to molest.
casamoc to embarrass.
sogmocsamoc sa manon no gotao, molester.
V **samoc**, to discommode, to distress, to vex, to molest.
sanduk wooden spoon.
sansang blunt, dull.
V **sangsang**, id.
sangay to adorn, to embellish.
sangol
tundong sa cabayo nga sangol sog baba, bit.
sangyawa breeches reaching to the knee.
saoan perhaps.
sapasapa brook, rivulet. Cf. **suba.**

sapauan to garnish.
sapauan ec potao somala alandon, to garnish with iron points.
V **sapao**, to put one thing upon another.
sapi a cow.
sapiai a mat of split bamboo.
sapingi Cf. **sopingi.**
sapis
ponopoton sapis soc nga libon perealon sog duma noc tapis, petticoat.
sapulu ten.
sapulu bo sala, eleven.
magatus bo sapulu, 110.
V **napôlo**, ten. Bontoc Igorot: *polo, po'o, sinpo'o*, id.
sarol a hoe. (Spanish *azada*.)
sarut pygmy evil spirits (**manamat**) of the forest.
sasa
malali yamo mocsasa, be you quiet.
sasac suffocating heat.
sawa wife. Cf. **soay.**
Kayan, *hawa*, id. Cf. *The Polynesian Wanderings*, page 306.
sawan cup.
sayop evil, deceit.
mipono noc sayop, evil doer.
soc sayop, uncertainty, mistake.
V **sayop**, lies, deceit.
sayoran to define, to explain.
casayoran (ca : **sayor:** an).
casayoran nog daan, itinerary.
V **sayod**, to explain, to define.
sebat hunting spear with detachable head.
seda fish. Cf. **sora.**
inangkag seda, dried fish.
seel heel.
seilad sickle.
selang (**solang**) chin.
selem Cf. **diselum, siselem, suansolom.**
seli pepper plant and fruit.
semicoat
soc lupa noctibogol guinale bo semicoat nog daro, glebe.
senombagan Cf. **sambag.**
sengguil señor.
siam nine.
siampulu ninety.
V **siâm**, nine. Bontoc Igorot: *sīam*, id.
sibulan a jar.
sibulansibulan a small jar.
sicay to sprinkle.
pocsicay noc tubig, to sprinkle water.
siclat storeroom.
V **siclit**, to store things in a secret place.
sicol, pacasicol to set the feet firm for an effort. Cf. **ponicol.**
V **sicad**, id.
sigeban (**siguban**) water jar, bamboo water tube.
sigitan a bamboo musical instrument resembling a guitar with strings of split bamboo raised over bamboo bridges.
siguban Cf. **sigeban.**
sigupan pipe, cigarette.
Bontoc Igorot: *songyōpan*, pipe stem.
silong underneath.
socsilong below, to go down.
V **silong**, under, below.
silup pipestem.
sinam
gagun sinam belilu, sounds of a gong which summon a midwife.
sinantan a jar valued at one and one-half piculs of rice or three fathoms of cloth.
sinapang gun, musket (Sulu).
sinasaka
bukid na sinasaka, land under cultivation.
sinbaan (**simbaan**) church.
di a moglingalinga soc sinbaan, be not disorderly in church.
V **singba**, to perform an act of worship; **singbahan**, church. Bontoc Igorot: *simfān*, church (loan word).
sindep
sindep gondao, sunset.
sindepan the west.
sindil to argue.
pocsindilsindil dissertation.
V **indig**, to argue, to dispute.
sindupan a good spirit of the sea, but vengeful if neglected.
sinipit
socsinipit socnaquit, carried in the arms.
sinonan Cf. **sonan.**
sipa a ball.
sipoon a cold.
V **sipon**, to have a cold.
siselem morning after sunrise. Cf. **diselum.**
sising finger ring.
lintisan sising, a ring for the leg below the knee.
Bontoc Igorot: *sīngsing*, id. (loan word).
sitguag to disseminate.
siyu (**siu**) elbow.
Bontoc Igorot: *sīko*, id.
siyuan shuttle.
so an article. Cf. **sa.**
soay wife. Cf. **sawa.**
pocboclag so gotao nga soay, to divorce.
V **asaoa**, wife. Bontoc Igorot: *asāwa* (*ay lalaki, ay fafayi*), husband, wife.
sobblag yellow.
pocsobblag to become yellow.
sobo (**subo**) to boil.
pocsobo ebullition.
socmocsubo boiling.
V **sobo**, to extinguish fire with water.
soboton Cf. **sabot.**
soc preposition.
soca Cf. **sogao.**
socal (**socsocal**) prefix indicating the possibility of the action of the stem.
socalan
socalan igbutasan, to abolish.
socalpoglogomutan Cf. **gomot.**
socaltogot Cf. **togot.**
socay Cf. **sacay.**
socmectuman Cf. **tuman.**

socmicaolang Cf. **olang.**
socmitondong Cf. **tondong.**
socmocsubo Cf. **sobo.**
socmoggosig Cf. **gosig.**
socmopayat Cf. **payat.**
socnaquit Cf. **goit.**
sococ Cf. **sogao.**
socog strong, strength.
gondaay socog, feeble.
pocgangay noc capintas abolo socog, to enervate, debilitate.
gotao noc socogan gopia, a person of great strength.
mosocog a tall robust person.
V **cosog**, strength.
socorolaag illuminative.
socpogbaal Cf. **baal.**
socpogboloy Cf. **boloy.**
socpongol Cf. **pongol.**
socpuonan Cf. **puonan.**
socsilong Cf. **silong.**
socsinipit Cf. **sinipit.**
socsocalbaalan Cf. **baal.**
socsocalbalon Cf. **balon.**
socsocalbugay Cf. **bugay.**
socsocalpononggulingan, Cf. **gulingan.**
socsomagang Cf. **somagang.**
socsomocol Cf. **somocol.**
socsool Cf. **sool.**
soctinalicala Cf. **tinalicala.**
soctolipaon Cf. **tolipaon.**
soctontol Cf. **tontol.**
sog a preposition. Cf. **soc.**
soganagana by and by.
soganan Cf. **sogao.**
sogantol
sogantol nog basa, irreverent.
sogao (**sugooa**) wailing at funerals.
sogmolomo moc sogao, weeper.
moc sugooa tundong songuca noc sala, weep for your sins.
pocsogao to shed tears.
pocsogao pogsəcasoca, crying, weeping.
pocasogao act of weeping.
sogmocsogao nong naquit, weepers.
malisogon weeper.
socsocalpocsoganon lamentable.
pacasococ act of weeping.
sogbobaan Cf. **bobaan.**
sogboid Cf. **boid.**
sogboot Cf. **boot.**
sogdogo Cf. **dogo.**
sogdoon Cf. **doon.**
sogduma Cf. **doma.**
soggó to hiccup.
V **sodoc**, id.
sogicabang Cf. **icagabang.**
sogindagosay Cf. **gosay.**
soglinunbogan Cf. **linunbogan.**
sogmacaocsop Cf. **ocsop.**
sogmaglaat Cf. **laat.**
sogmebagolan Cf. **bagol.**
sogmecpeinog Cf. **inog.**
sogmegatad Cf. **gatad.**
sogmetondong Cf. **tondong.**
sogmicalimbong Cf. **limbong.**
sogmigagoyan Cf. **gagoy.**
sogmigbaal Cf. **baal.**
sogmigbono Cf. **bono.**
sogmigbuis Cf. **buis.**
sogmimando Cf. **mando.**
sogmitoiac Cf. **toiac.**
sogmocsamoc Cf. **samoc.**
sogmocsogo Cf. **sogo.**
sogmogangay Cf. **angay.**
sogmogbolobod Cf. **bolobod.**
sogmogboot Cf. **boot.**
sogmogdadao Cf. **dao.**
sogmogdoro Cf. **doro.**
sogmoglioat Cf. **lioat.**
sogmogocom Cf. **ocom.**
sogmogoit Cf. **goit.**
sogmogombal Cf. **gobal.**
sogmogota
sogmogota nog gapoy, vomiting fire.
sogmogsosulat Cf. **sulat.**
sogmogtabo Cf. **tabo.**
sogmogunaguna Cf. **gonagona.**
sogmololison Cf. **mololison.**
sogmonongguiling Cf. **guiling.**
sogmoquit Cf. **goit.**
sognaquilit Cf. **naquilit.**
sognigasoy Cf. **nigasoy.**
sogo (**sugo**) to order, to define, a commandment.
pocsogo to command.
sogmocsogo commander.
V **sogo**, to command, to order, to define.
sogod cargo, lading.
dacsoc soc sogod, to stow cargo.
V **sooc**, id.
sogodaay Cf. **daay.**
sogogolingong
penongonan sogogolingon nog buot, abnegation.
sogombaya Cf. **baya.**
sogonda Cf. **da.**
sogondaay Cf. **daay.**
sogondi Cf. **di.**
sogpacailig Cf. **ilig.**
sogpacalaat Cf. **laat.**
sogpaon a slap.
V **sagpá**, id.
sogpiglologosan Cf. **lologosogan.**
sogpopeed Cf. **peed.**
sogsocalbalon Cf. **balon.**
sogsocalgunagunaon Cf. **gonagona.**
sogtinangonan Cf. **tinangonan.**
soguset Cf. **guset.**
solang Cf. **selang.**
solo Cf. **sulu.**
solog to pack.
pocsolog to pack into a trunk.
V **solod**, to enter, to go into.
solom Cf. **diselum, siselem, suansolom.**
solot to enter.
posoloron mo guien, bid him come in.
V **solod**, to enter.
som sour.
mosom (mo : **som**) sour.
gosomnen (go : **som** : nen) anything sour.
somacay Cf. **sacay.**

somagan a weapon.
bosi doon ec somagan, a spear.
somagang to block, to obstruct.
socsomagang obstructor.
somala adverbial modifier. Cf. **alandon.**
somama Cf. **sama.**
sombag to answer.
V **tobag,** id. Bontoc Igorot: *sŭmfad*, the answer.
somocol factious.
socsomocol so nga gosod, dissenter.
V **socol,** to dispute, to argue.
somoctoloan
somoctoloan noc subanon, peasant.
somoglopong Cf. **lopong.**
somogot
boclag ondi somogot, defection.
somolondon seldom.
somoon skilful.
sogondi somoon, unskilled.
sompoyan to complete, to finish.
V **sompay,** id.
sonan to know.
pocogondaay sonan, ignorance.
sinonan (**s** : in : **onan**)
sogondaay sinonan, unskilfully.
sondalo soldier. (Spanish *soldado.*)
sog sondalo moggondaay abayo, infantry.
sonnem
sognigasoy sonnem nogayac lover.
sonsol to burn.
sontoc to strike, to slash.
pagsontoc stroke of a cutlass.
V **sontoc,** to stab, to lance.
song a particle.
song neen, to thee.
song niyo, to you.
songag
songag domomog nogombagol, thick lips.
songibu thousand.
songuca thy.
sool down.
socsool fallen.
V **sahol,** to cheapen.
soong nose.
batang soong, bridge of the nose.
imud soong, septum of the nose.
gegbad soong, interior of the nose.
soong point of the knife.
soot dance.
sop
dosop also.
puli musop, again.
sopagboot Cf. **boot.**
sopang fat, fleshy.
pocsopang to grow plump.
V **sopang,** fat.
sopingi (**sapingi**) the cheek.
V **aping,** id. Bontoc Igorot: *īping*, cheek near the temples.
sopla remedy.
sogondaay sopla, irremediably.
V **sompa,** to give medicine, to take precautions.
sopoc anger.
pocsopoc to fly into a rage.
sopoceglopong Cf. **lopong.**
sopoconongguiling Cf. **guiling.**
sopocsama Cf. **sama.**
sopogloguinaoa Cf. **guinaoa.**
sopogopia Cf. **pia.**
soquit
soquit nong milugbas, a hole bored from side to side.
sora (**sura**) fish.
poctuba soc sora, to poison fish.
V **isda,** fish.
sosombagay quantity given and received.
soyon
soyon noc sulut binutong, emblem.
suansolom in the morning.
suayon
sogondi maimo guilason suayon, indivisible.
suba river. Cf. **sapasapa.**
pagdipag sac suba so guset, to cross rivers on floats.
V **sobá,** river, to go by stream.
subanon
somoctoloan noc subanon, peasant.
subo Cf. **sobo.**
subungan knife haft.
sucle to barter.
sugo Cf. **sogo.**
sugooa Cf. **sogao.**
suguiton Cf. **saguit.**
sulal orchard.
magbaal lamo noc sulal, did you work in the orchard?
sulat (**sulut**) to write.
suguiton nia nogompia soc sulat, write well thy page.
soyon noc sulut binutong, emblem.
sogmogsosulat writer, clerk.
V **solat,** to write. Bontoc Igorot, Ilocano: *sulādak*, id.
sulidat spoon of wood or metal.
suling bamboo flute.
sulu (**solo**) light, sunrise, torch.
V **solŏ,** a torch. Bontoc Igorot: *sillu*, id.
sulut Cf. **sulat.**
sumalui Cf. **saloy, somaloy.**
sumibang
sumibang gondao, sunrise.
sumuda to eat.
sumuda na gumanoc, to eat the egg.
sunday a bamboo comb.
sunday gaan, a fork.
supla to blunt, to dull.
supoc to tire oneself.
suquit
pocsuquit noc paldon sogmigbuis, to enroll in a census.
pogbuta noc pegotaran noc suquit, census.
sura Cf. **sora.**
suuk (**sūk**) jacket, shirt.

taab rising tide.
poctaab id.
V **taob,** id.

taap to suspect.
di motahap, intrepid.
V **táhap**, to suspect.
taas up.
ditaas up, over.
matas tall.
motaas
gayo nong motaas, any large timber.
gotao nong motaas, a tall robust person.
motaas gopia, tall, elevated.
gotao nong motaas nog booc, hairy.
V **taas**, up, above.
taassondao midday, noon.
taba to be fat.
tabal sermon.
tabian talker.
V **tabí**, to speak much.
tabing the hip.
tabo to revolve.
sogmogtabo revolving.
taboc to consent.
tacho stewpan. (Spanish *tacho*.)
tadjau a jar valued at 5 piculs of rice.
tagam habit, custom; to accustom.
mitagam (metagam, motagam) habitually.
sogondaay mitagam, unskilled.
nog metagam nog poglaat, mischievousness.
tagana to elect.
V **tagana**, id.
tagek juice.
taginop a dream.
tago to store.
poctago, id.
V **tago**, to guard, to store, to hide.
taktuai the knee. Cf. **leletek.**
talabi a drum used in religious ceremonies.
talam a brass serving platter. (Malay.)
talao fear.
atalao timid, coward.
sogondaay atalao, intrepidity.
matalao (motalao) cowardly.
ondi matalao, intrepid.
V **talao**, fear.
talawan spear.
tali a rope.
tali noguintolo, 3-stranded esparto rope.
taliaman a weapon.
moni aron noc taliaman, a weapon.
talinga the ear; handles of a jar or jug.
luang talinga, the hole in the ear.
V **dalonggan**, the ear.
talip the bladder.
talloma Cf. **taliaman.**
bosi maaron noc talloma, javelin.
talő language.
poctalő to speak.
talon wild.
baboy talon, wild boar.
taluk purple.
gataluknen (ga : **taluk** : nen) a large mass of purple.
talun betel box.
tama where.
tama sogmogsosulat, where is the clerk?
tambugu button. Cf. **tumbaga.**
tambun stack of straw. (Malay.)
tamiang a spirit bird which determines the best site for a house.
taming a round shield.
tamisac mud. Cf. **basacan.**
V **pisac**, id.
tamo
sabot tamo uglonan niyo, answer all of you.
tampalasan naughty.
V **tampalasan**, to be a rogue, immoral.
tampoling to buffet, to slap.
V **tampalíng**, to slap with the back of the hand.
tanud thread.
tao Cf. **cutao, potao, tonaoan.**
tao Cf. **gotao, golitao.**
V **taoo**, person. Bontoc Igorot: *takao*, id.
taod to respect.
V **tahod**, to honor.
tapi altar.
tapis skirt.
tapis empetek, a short skirt, kilt.
moglong tapis, apron worn by women.
V **tapis**, an outer garment of women.
tapolan lazy, idler, vagabond.
lee nog tapolan, rogue, swindler.
V **tapolan**, id.
tapus to end.
atapusan (a : **tapus** : an) end.
sogondaay atapusan, unlimited.
atapusan sog benoiran, hilltop.
V **tapos**, to finish, to conclude; **catapusan**, end.
tare
poctare to put balls on.
taron good, right.
motaron (mo : **taron**) just, lawful.
songondi motaron, unlawful.
V **tadong**, good, right, just.
taron I do not know.
tatung tin.
tauac to call, to summon.
tauago mo guien, call thou him.
V **taoag**, to call.
tay who.
tay minatung, who has come in?
tee needle.
tee excrement of a child.
V **tai**, excrement in general, particularly human. Bontoc Igorot: *tãe*, id.
teguib chisel.
V **tigib**, id.
telinting backbone.
telipusud brother.
teneb wild honey.
tenite to salt and smoke meat.
tenga half.
tenggab bamboo flute (longer than **suling**).
tian (tiyan, puntian) belly.
macabagol noc tian, pot belly.
tian noc pusu, calf of the leg.
V **tian**, belly. Kolon: *tíya*, id. Visayan: *tian*, belly. Magindano, Ilocano, Tagalog, Sanguir, Ahtiago: *tian*, id. Pampangas: *atian*, id. Wayapo: *tihen*, id. Morella: *tiaka*, id. Ba-

tian—continued.
tumerah: *tiava*, id. Wahai: *tiare*, id. Caimarian: *tiamo*, id. Lariko, Awaiya: *tia*, id. Menado: *tijan*, id. Wayapo: *tihen*, id. Saparua: *teho*, id. Marina, Nggao, New Georgia, Treasury Island: *tia*, id. Maori, Tahiti, Marquesas, Mangareva: *tia*, id.

tibaan
piran nocpigaguanta somala noc tibaan, ignominy.

tiboa stomach.

tibogok a bird in which the female spirit *dipuksaya* sometimes materializes.

tibooc wholly, entirely.
V **tibooc,** id.

ticas to defraud.
ticas maliondocon, pickpocket.
V **ticas,** to rob meanly.

tigom to gather, to accumulate.
V **tigom,** id.

tigomoamo flattering.

tigul a cigarette wrapped in nipa leaf.

timala
buklug timala, a festival for the infant dead or those recently dead.

timba good, well.

timod to unite.
timod noc salapi, to hoard.
V **tigom,** to unite.

timondoan Cf. **tondo.**

timpa betel box.

timpas wry-mouthed.

timuai a chief.

tina to dye.
poctina noc bolao, to dye red.
V **tina,** to dye.

tinabagen a grooved spear head.

tinaguilo stepchild.

tinalagan a heavy short spear with short blade.

tinalicala (**t** : in : **alicala**).
soctinalicala to chain.
V **talicalá,** a chain.

tinangonan
sogtinangonan noc sa lamin guinolal antocos, spectacles.

tinayan a bridge.

tinee intestines, bowel.

tinhug (**tiungo**) nape, back of the neck.

tinina to weave.

tiningog Cf. **tingog.**

tinongol Cf. **tingol.**

tinugsog a young pig just weaned.

tingala to marvel.
poctingala to astonish.
V **tingala,** id.

tingil to bear.
pagtingil to carry.

tingilan spinning wheel. Cf. **tingol.**

tingog talk.
tiningog id.
V **tingog,** voice, to talk, to salute, to bray.

tingol to spin.
sogmogtingol spinner.
bonua noc poctingolan, spinning room.

tingol—continued.
tinongol (**tin** : on : **gol**).
coloonan somala alandon noc tinongol, spun fiber.

tioan (**tiuan**) a bee.
nila bonua noc tiuan, beehive.
tiuan nog lee, drone.
noquito noc tiuan, pertaining to bees.
pocongolan nog nila noc tioan, queen cell.
V **potiocan,** bee.

tiroo unhappy.

titai a bridge.

tiuan Cf. **tioan.**

tiungo Cf. **tinhug.**

tiyan Cf. **tian.**

toay glaucous.

tobang fresh.
motobang unsalted.
V **tabang,** unsalted, insipid.

tobang to look. Cf. **gatbang.**
poctobang to face.
V **atobang,** to become visible, to look at.

tobe Cf. **tabian.**
nocmacabingguil sa gompia nog buot poctobe, detractor.
V **tabi,** to speak much, loquacious.

tobig Cf. **tubig.**

tobo (**tubo**) to sprout.
catubo (ca : **tobo**) life.
poctobo germination.
poctobo soc gonu soc mga lee, to have a beard just showing.
poctubo sog bombol nog manocmanoc, to get feathers.
mintobo
songoc saa mintobo noc salalis, a bunch of flowers on one stalk.
tominobo to germinate.
Visayan, Matu: *tubu*, to grow. Kayan: *tubo*, id. Malay: *tumbuh*, id. Malagasy: *tomboh*, id. Samoan: *tupu*, id.

tobod a spring.
tondong noc tobod, spring, fountain.
bonua nocolonan nocpoc tobora, spring.
V **tobod,** to spring from, to gush.

tobon
libong bo bacalan noc tobon nog dinamog bata, a barren female.

toboro Cf. **tobod.**

tobos (**tubus**) complete, perfect, to finish. Cf. **tapus.**
poctobosan achievable.
V **tapos,** to complete.

toclop to nail.

tocsocan a case for buttons and thread.
V **tohogan,** id.

togaling Cf. **tugaling.**

togaya Cf. **tugaya.**

togot to permit.
socaltogot susceptible of exemption.
togotan
sogsomacay nogale togotan noc ponoan, stowaway.
V **togot,** to grant permission.

togubung rat.

toiac leaning.
sogmitoiac inclination to one side.
tolin gain.
poctolin to acquire.
poggatad poctolin nog bangot, to get a beard.
tolipaon
soctolipaon meaon, dwarfish.
tolisan rascal.
tolisan tugaling, rogue.
V **tampalasan**, rogue, rascal.
tolo three.
tali noguintolo, 3-stranded rope.
tolopulu thirty.
V **tolŏ**, three. Bontoc Igorot: *tŏlo*, id.
tolo (**tolu**) to drop, to drip.
poctolo nongogatop, to rain.
V **tolo**, a drop of any liquid.
tolod to impel, to push.
V **tolod**, id. Bontoc Igorot: *itolŭdko*, id.
tolog sleep.
pogtolog to go to sleep.
V **tolog**, id.
tolong to burn.
tom dark.
mitom black.
biag nog mitom, a black slave.
getomnen (ge : **tom** : nen) blackness of night.
V **itom, maitom**, black.
toma why?
toma a logmo song neen, why blamest thou him?
toman Cf. **tuman.**
tomanan to improve.
tominobo Cf. **tobo.**
tonaoan (**t** : on : **ao** : an)
balay noc poctonaoan noc potao, iron-works.
V **tonao**, to smelt metals.
tondo to educate.
timondoan (**t** : im : **ondo** : an) disciple.
V **todlo**, to instruct, to teach.
tondo finger.
salabuk tondo, first finger.
datu tondo, second finger.
bobonayan noc tondo, space between the knuckles.
bogotondo knuckle.
V **todlo, torlo**, finger, toe.
tondong (**tundong**) to pertain.
tondong noc tubig, pertaining to a river.
tondong noc tobod, a spring, fountain.
tondong song ang manoc, gallinaceous.
soctondong gabo nog mogonao, wintry.
soctondong nog dalan, itinerary.
mitondong (**metondong**)
mitondong no gotao, human.
mitondong nog bata, childish, juvenile.
socmitondong nog diuata, idolatrous.
sogmetondong sogmogdadao, thievish.
gaom noc motondong so gonauna, science of ideas.
V **tongod**, to pertain.
tonob
gaan noc potocon boogon noc tonob somala alandon nong mobogbog, cakes.
tonogbata Cf. **bata.**
pocpatay bisan tonogbata nong mica, infanticide.
tontal to marry.
poctontal marriage.
tontol conversation
tontol noc pigonaona moc nga gotao, fable.
tontoltontol balos nog mibatog sog lonsod, rumor, gossip.
poctontol to converse.
soctontol detractor.
tontong to burn.
poctontong id.
tong why?
tong na malipay, why are ye merry?
tong harm.
pimoctong to molest.
pomoctong hostile.
tongalang basket.
lulu tongalang, a large basket for crop storage.
Bontoc Igorot: *ālang*, granary.
tongdong to face.
tongdug
tongdug panga, a half-grown monkey.
tongos to wrap up.
tonggab to drink.
V **tongab**, id.
too to believe.
V **too**, id.
toon (**tuun**) year, time, a two-crop season, crop and harvest.
toon no pogdope, rainy, showery.
Bontoc Igorot: *taaowĭn*, year.
toon to teach.
mutuon na noc putuonan, did you study the lesson?
pictoonan (pic : **toon** : an) disciple.
guiscuelaan noc poctoonan, school.
V **toon**, to teach.
toos signal.
topoc to unite.
torong just.
catorongan (ca : **torong** : an) justice.
bal nogondi socal so catorongan, injustice.
V **tadong, catadongan**, justice.
tuan master, sir.
poctuan noc tubig, spring.
tuba a shrub.
poctuba soc sora, to poison fish.
V **toba**, a shrub whose fruit is used to poison fish.
tubig (**tobig**) water.
pocpunu noc tubig, to fill with water.
soc tobig, rising tide.
tugaya noc pobianan noc tubig, water conduit.
tondong noc tubig, pertaining to a river.
poctuan noc tubig, a spring.
poglines somala alandon sog tubig, to dissolve.
pocsicay noc tubig, to sprinkle water.

tubig—continued.
baa noc tubig, overflow of rivers.
tubig nog dupe, rainwater.
miglanao ic tubig, lake.
poctubig to fill with water.
bonoa noc tubigan, puddle.
V **tobig**, water in general.
tubo Cf. **tobo.**
tubus Cf. **tobos.**
tugaling (**togaling**) very, a sign of the superlative.
malat tugaling, evil doer.
maligos ba tugaling, is he worse.
malagos tugaling, he is worse.
bolo tugaling, ferocity.
tolisan tugaling, rogue.
pocabolo tugaling, inhumanly.
sogpacalaat tugaling, iniquitously.
pacanapo tugaling, evenness.
minit togaling, very warm.
tugaya (**togaya**) a gutter, spout; to make a canal.
tugaya noc pobianan noc tubig, water conduit.
tugbungan
donggoan tugbungan, anchorage.
tugol to strengthen.
tulaan bone.
tulag to disjoin.
tulakh Adam's apple.
tuman (**toman**) to obey, to comply.
toman, a filler.
moctuman amo poc, put yourselves in a row.
poctoman noc atandanan, to satisfy, to comply with what is due.
socmectuman, full.
V **toman**, to comply; complete, perfect.
tumbaga copper. Cf. **tambugu.**
V **tombaga**, id.
tundaan a small boat.
tundong Cf. **tondong.**
tungdong reason, motive.
V **tongod**, id.
tungkaling a bell to frighten birds away from crops.
turung hat, cap.
tutusan a cigarette wrapped in paper.
tuyo intention.
V **toyo**, id.
tuyo to weary, to molest, to vex.
V **toyo**, to inconvenience, to annoy.

ubi a tuber edible when cooked.
V **obi**, id.
uglonan Cf. **lonan.**
ulatay wait.
pogulatay mo, wait.
V **holat**, to wait.
ulihan pulpit.
V **oali**, to preach; **oalihan**, pulpit.
ulimo
ulimo caya, return that to.
nano ec pogulimo, when wilt thou go?
V **oli**, to restore.
ulipun Cf. **gulipun.**
umpet Cf. **pet.**
upat four.
uraman to change.
sogondi maimo uraman, immutable.
utung (**gutung**) monkey.

viste clothing. (Spanish *veste.*)

walu eight.
walupulu eighty.
V **oalŏ**, eight. Bontoc Igorot: *wălo*, id.

ya thou.
morito ya soc convento, go thou to the convent.
monoog ya, come thou down.
V **ya**, id.
yamo you.
yaua (**yawa**) devil.
V **yaoa**, id. Tagolog: *yaua*, id.
yaung a cup.
yen he.

ENGLISH–SUBANU VOCABULARY.

abandon bolong, pasagdan.
abbess gosog nog binocot.
abdicate pinilian.
ability pocolomo balon somala alandon.
abjure pacpangirongo nong motood.
able maimo, molomo, socal–, socsocal–.
abnegation penongonan sogogolingong nog buot.
abolish socalan igbutasan.
abominable socalpoglogomutan.
abuse palalabe.
acacia gayo nog doguian.
accede gangay, goyon.
accessible pogood.
accord pegoyonan.
accumulate pongon, tigom, lompoc.
accustom mibotasan, tagam.
achievable poctobosan.
acquire poctolin.
admit panilong.
to the house gomalin.
adorn dayandayan, sangay.
adze bencong.
adzing guinocsip.
affectionately gayac.
afternoon lalabong, ginenga minek gondao.
again puli musop.
against bonó.
aged magulang.
agree gangay, sabot, goyon.
ah bale.
aid labanan.
alas aba, bale.
alienable socsocalbogayan nog leen.
all lonan, lamnen.
alligator bangitao, boaya.
altar binabalay, bukar, tapi.
alter paglogalin, pocpeen.
also dosop.
always gusay.
amazement pocolaen sa gunagona, coendoc.
anchorage donggoan tugbungan.
and bo, bu.
anger sopoc.
animal mananap.
ankle bogogu.
answer sabot, posobaton, sombag.
ant pila.
appetite ayac, guibog.
appoint ngalan.
apron moglong tapis.
arable lopa nogompia balan, napo.
architect sogmigbaal nog balay.
areca nut gibas, maen.
argue sindil.
arm bingcon
upper arm mageleabed.
armlet linggit.
armor genbet.
armpit gilek.
around libot.
arrival carongo, pagdatong.
arrogant baga.
arrogantly pocobaga.
arrow lipu.
artery gugat.
ascertain pocposoon.
ashes gabo.
ask saac.
assist labanan, gabang.
astonish libaliba, poctingala.
asylum panilong, domangop.
attach matogos.
attentive pocaoid, pocpongong.
aunt gina, ina.
axe gwasay.

baby batabata.
bachelor golitao.
back locud, logud.
backbone telinting.
bad laat, malaat.
weather gonos nong marisa.
bagasse gopa.
bait gumpan.
bald gopao.
ball sipa.
banana saguing.
bandage baling.
banner bandela.
baptize bondyag.
bark gosig.
barker socmoggosig maloong.
barking sopoggosig.
barracks locao.
barrel pocquipos.
barren tobon nog dinamog bata.
barter sucle.
basket bobaan, gantang, gantang buhisan, lulu tongalang.
fishbasket pitangan.
bat laknit, batiti.
bathe ligo.
battle lelenaan.
bay linok, logoc.
be dine, doon.
beam gayo nong motaas.
bear antosan, gantoson.
bearable sogmolomo antosan.
beard gumi, gonu, bangot.
beat pagbontol, bonal.
beautiful bais, embais, malongas.
because sabab.

becloud pogdolan.
bed poyoan.
bee niguan, tioan, boligan.
beehive nila bonoa noc tiuan.
beer gasi, pangasi.
beginning pegotaran.
behold dien iposay.
believe too.
bell basting, linganay, tungkaling.
belt bakes panit, baling.
belly tian, puntian.
below socsilong.
bend moctoo.
beneath perealon.
benefit calongas, gipianan.
betel box talun, timpa.
chewing bunga, buyo, laget, mamaen, gibas, maen.
bewitch mobabaan.
bird manoc.
bit sangol sog baba, biyanan.
bitter pet, umpet.
bitterness gapetnen.
black mitom, getomnen.
blacksmith panday potao.
bladder talip.
blame logmo.
blanket gumut.
blaze goclac, liga.
bleach pocpoti.
blear-eyed motaon.
block somagang.
blood dogo.
blood money bangon.
blood vessel gugat.
blow *n* litobong.
blow *v* gonos.
blue bilu, gasol.
blueness gabilunen.
blunt sansang, supla.
boar baboy.
wild boar baboy talon, butaal.
boat sacay, tundaan.
body lauas.
boiling socmocsubo.
bone tulaan.
bottle lelenaan.
bow pana.
bowels tinee.
bowl palaksan.
bowstring giget.
box caban.
betel box talun, timpa.
tobacco box batangan laget.
boy boto-micaon, bogutao.
brace the feet pocponicol, sicol.
brain gutek.
branch panga, pakanen.
brave bolo, macabolo, pintas.
breast gogdob, edob, dubdub.
breastbone gibusibus.
breath guinaoá.
breeches sangyawa.
bridge tinayan, titai.
of the nose batang soong.
bristly nongmotong.
brook sapasapa.
brother patod, telipusud, gilugu.
brother-in-law bate.
brow gangas.
bruise locpog, ocdoc.
bud bone, buat, pegotaran.
buffet doctoc, tampoling.
builder sogmigbaal nog balay.
building balay, bota.
bunch caloonan.
burn sonsol, tolong, tontong.
burning baga tondong noc abolo no gapoy.
bury lobung, poclubung, olungoban.
button tambugu.
buy saloy.
by-and-by soganagana.

cacao aao, aaoan.
cackle pogone.
cage gulungan.
cake boogon.
calf tian noc pusu.
call tauac, batog.
calumny ponbaal, poglibac.
canal tugaya.
candle lansuk.
cane llayan.
cannon lotang nog daan, lantaka.
to fire boi.
canoe galiyan.
cap popia, turung.
carabao galabao.
cargo sogod.
carpenter panday.
carriage pocoatud, pocogoit.
carrier sogmogoit, sogmogatod.
carry goit, poquit, socnaquit, atud, baba, dala, tingil, bolig.
cart pogoot.
cassava camote cahoy.
cat guilos, geding, kuting, biring, gigus.
wildcat lubing.
cause alaik punanen, alaik sabab.
census pocsuquit noc paldon sogmigbuis.
chain pogbaat, poquicot, tinalicala.
chair guicoran.
change posocliyan, uraman.
chastity nada.
cheapen pacponoog sog laga.
cheat baloson.
cheek sapingi, sopingi, molo.
chest gogdob, edob, dubdub; gedeb; caban.
chew mama.
chick posui.
chicken gitit.
chief gosog, gosog nog lonoon, timuai, panungo, gare, datu, begelal, poon, saliling, masalagtau, lajagunum.
child bata.

childbirth gululu, matansa, gosina.
chimney bengawan nog gobal.
chin selang.
chisel teguib.
chocolate pot batirol.
choose pili.
church sinbaan.
cigarette gasa, lakas, sigupan, tigul, tutusan.
clerk sogmogsosulat.
clever motoo.
climb pogdeec, pogontod.
cloak capote; poclabon.
close pono.
cloth genbet, kinopatan.
clothing ponopoton, poloapomopoton, viste; baag, gantiu, gawal, gawes, gumut, legdey, musalabungkas, porot, salwal, sangyawa, suuk, tapis, apote.
cloud dolan.
coals baga.
dead coals musing.
coarse moreipol.
coat apote.
cock limansud.
cockpit bonua nocpogbalidyaan nongog manoc.
coconut niug.
grove niugao.
milk tubig nong niug.
shell load.
coin salapi.
cold mogonao; sipoon.
collar gasintos.
comb sunday.
come minatung, mori.
come down monoog.
comfort senombagan, milipay.
coming carongo, pagdatong.
command pogboot, pocsogo, poggare.
commander socmocsogo.
commanding sogmogboot.
commandment sogo.
communion paccalauat.
compact dacsoc, libon, maligon.
complete ontoran, octuban, ponno, sompoyan, tobos.
comprehend sabot.
comply tuman.
conduct, good pia, gompia.
conductor sogmogatod, sogmogoit.
conduit tugaya.
confess paccalauat, compinsal.
conflagration dinoksulan.
congratulate tugaling sac sala gotao tondong sa gompia noc palad sama gotao.
consent taboc.
contain gola.
conversation tontol.
cook loto.
copper tumbaga.
corrupt malat tugaling.
cottage locao sog beninalan.
count guisip.
counting paguisip, pagusay.
country bukid, lonsod.
courage cabolo so posong.
courageous bolo, macabolo.
cousin gonopó.
cover labon.
cow sapi.
coward atalao.
cowardly motalao.
cradle puyuwan.
creeper bolagan nog bolaan.
cripple lolid, pitong.
crocodile bangitao, boaya.
crooked molió.
cross pagdipag.
crow quak, guak; pogone.
crowd picpongonnan nonga gotao, loonan.
crown bolibod; porongporong.
crying pocsogao.
cup basu, sawan, yaung.
cure pocbolong; porang, tenite.
curved molió.
custom batad, batasan, gaui, tagam.
cut gabasan, potol.
cutlass penoto.

dainties guibogan.
damage poglaat.
dance soot, sabay; anahau, salidingan.
daughter bata.
dawn diselum, poti dalag.
day gondao, gobii.
day after to-morrow salan gondao.
daytime gondao.
death amatayon, pocamatay, pogpatayon.
debilitate pocgangay noc capintas abolo socog.
deceit sayop.
declivity maranaya.
decoction moloto.
deep medelem.
deer bilibili, osa.
defamation pogangay nog rongog, pocpeed.
defamer sogmaglaat bo mogangay nog dongog.
defection boclag ondi somogot, dalá.
defend gabang, inobangan.
defense sogicabang.
defensive sogicagabang.
deference goyon.
deficit gongean, pagcorala.
define gasoy, sayoron, sogo.
defraud dao, ticas, limbong.
deglutition goglon, orol.
dejected pagoquion.
delay alanganan, payat.
deluded soglinunbogan sogpiglologosogan.
delusive sogondaay tundongan noc pacanaoron, sogmicalimbong.
depressed pocpanimolang.
desire bout.

destroy morala.
detest gomot.
detractor nocmacabingguil sa gompia nog buot poctobe, poquit soctontol.
devil yaua.
die matay, patay.
different laen.
difficult biling, malogou.
difficulty abilingan, lisod.
digestion poglines sog quinaan.
dilapidator maliolaon.
diligent matogos.
dine cana.
disagreement gondi gangay, gondi maaron.
discouragement paubos nog buot.
disciple pictoonan, timondoan.
disjoin gogbag, tulag.
disorderly gobot.
dispersion pocboclag, poclagoy.
displeasing pocobaga.
displeasure malaat nog boot, gomot.
dissemble poclabon sac guionaona.
disseminate sitguag.
dissent pingondian.
dissenter socsomocal so nga gosod.
dissertation pocsindilsindil.
dissimilar di maaron, dilo mopong.
dissolve lines.
distinguish peinan.
distinguishable socalpeinan.
distract lingalinga.
distribute pocguilas.
disturb magalin.
divide boocon, potol, lombos.
divinity poccadiuata.
divorce pocboclag soc gotao nga soay.
dog guito, ito, gayam.
door langaan.
doorway bawang ec daan.
down babá, sool, nooc.
  come down monoog.
  go down ponooc, socsilong.
dream taginop.
drink inom, guinom, gunimon, minoma, ocsop, tonggab.
drip tolo.
drone tiuan nog lee.
drop tolo.
drum gandang, talabi.
drunken poccabolong.
drunkenness migbobolong.
dry inangkag.
dull sansang, supla.
duty atodanan.
dwarf meaon.
dwell congol.
dwelling picongolan.
dye panglamugan, pongompig, tina.

ear talinga.
earring gantingganting.
earth lopa, salau.
earthquake linug.
ease abotang.
easy malomo, molomo, sogondaay abilingan.
eat cana, gaan, sumuda, manamu, manunsuma.
ebullition pocsobo.
educate baton, lomo, tondo.
efficiency socpogbaal.
egg bulinga, gumanoc.
eight walu.
eighty walupulu.
elbow siyu.
elder mogulang.
elect pili, tagana.
elegance dugnayan ig lanas no gotao mapiaiguindog.
elevated maal, motaas gopia.
eleven sapulu bo sala.
eliminate di poggolat sog bisan alandon.
emanate buat, gatad.
embarrass libang, casamoc.
embark pocosacay.
embellish alongas, dayandayan, sangay.
emblem laraban nga ologan somala alandon, soyon noc sulut binutong.
embroidery lankep.
enchanted gondeemaqui nongog, gonlo gotao nog boangboang.
enchanter asoang, balbal.
encounter baangan.
end atapusan; tapus.
endure antosan, gantoson.
enemy banta, bonó.
enervate pocgangay noc capintas abolo socog.
enjoy agom.
enjoyment pocagagom, milipay.
enroll pocsuquit noc paldon, pogbuta.
enter solot.
entirely tibooc.
ephemeral socmopayat soc sala ondao.
equal pares, sama.
equalizer somoglopong, somogsama.
estimate pacpalaga somala alandon.
evening polupungobii.
evenness pacanapo tugaling.
event gabo.
every lonan.
everything lamnen.
evil sayop.
evildoer mipono noc sayop, sala, malat tugaling.
exact lopong.
exactly impit.
excrement tee, malomo.
excuse balibad.
executable socsocalbaalan.
exhort sambag.
explain sayoron.
external sa gua.
extinguish pocpalon.
eye mata.
  humor mota.
  pupil ginotao.

eyebrow gilay.
eyelash pileka.
eyelid pilaten.

fable tontol.
face molo; gatbang, poctobang, tongdong.
facilitate nog abilingan nog micaolang, pogangay.
faction dapig.
factious gobot, somocol, malalison.
factor gotao pimonan, pisaligan, pocsaloy, nocpogbalidya.
factory bota.
faculty gaom socpogbaal.
fair weather linao.
fall labo, pagobos, socosol, bosacan, lolid.
fallacy balos, lingbon, nogmalat.
false witness pombaal.
falsifier songmogmaomao somala alandon.
fame bantug.
fan gocabgocab.
far malayo.
farm bukid.
farmer nogmigbaal sog lopa.
fast puasa.
fasting pocpuasa.
fat malombo, sopang, taba.
father gama.
father-in-law ponongangan.
fathom kumpau, depa.
  three fathoms sinantan.
fault finding libac.
fear ondoc, gondoc, talao.
feasible malomo balon, socsocalbalon.
feast buklug.
feather bombol.
feeble malobay.
fellow sama.
fence galad.
ferocious bolo, pintas.
ferocity bolo tugaling.
festival buklug.
fever panas.
feverish panas minit.
field bukid, bonoa nog napo.
  cleared for tilth binalan.
  cultivated begyaan.
  paddy field binal.
fierce pintas.
fight lalis.
fifty limapulu.
fill pono, loop.
filler socpocoloon mepono.
find baangan.
fine bangon.
finger tondo, gemet, goyamet.
  index finger salabuk tondo, palamanis.
  second datu tondo.
  third manisan.
  little koingai.
fingernail kanuku.
finish octoban, tobos, ponno, sompoyan.

fire *n* gapoy, dinoksulan.
fire *v* boi, lotang.
firelight liga, goclac.
fire making pulas.
fireplace gabo pagbaloganan, buanan
firewood ginulai.
first mina, bekna.
fish sora, esda, suda.
fishbasket pitangan.
fisherman managat, polomongwit.
fish fence galad nog llayan lanas socpogboloy noc sura noc tubigan.
fishnet giyud, pasawit.
five lima.
flame liga.
flank guilid.
flattering poraigon, tigomoamo.
fledged poctubo sog bombol nog manocmanoc.
fleshy gotao gombagol noc sopingi sopang.
flexible pomagon.
float *n* aloonan nog gayoonan.
float *v* lotao.
flood baa.
floor saleg.
flour bagas mais.
flower bulac.
fluent poctolo.
flute suling, tenggab.
flux sogdogo.
fly langau, boligan, calontinay.
follow pogdonot.
following gelet.
food gaan, balon.
fool colang sog boot, gongog, bobó.
foolish boangboang.
foot gocsud, pocsud, botis.
  sole palapa.
  instep dibaban noc palapa.
  to brace sicol, pocponicol.
footprint binaya.
forehead gangas.
forest bui.
forge pandayan.
fork sunday gaan.
form pogbaal, pogbogay, pogliquimo, pocpongong.
fortune palad.
forty patpulu, upatpulu.
fountain tobod.
four pat, upat.
fowl manoc.
fresh tobang.
freshet baa noc tubig.
friend bila.
fright bayad.
frog bocbaac.
fruit bunga.
full socmectuman, songmipono, bontal.
funeral buklug pimala, timala, ponolud, puluntu, sogao.
fur bombol.

gain *n* polos, tolin.
gain *v* daag.
gale gonos nong marisa.
gallantly baya gopia.
gallantry dugnayan ig lanas no gotao mapiaiguindog.
garden pimolaen.
garnish sapauan.
gateway bunguan.
gather lompoc, pongon, tigom.
generating sogmoglioat.
generative sogdoon ig gaom nog pogli-oat.
generously maloot.
germ bone, buat, pegotaran.
germinate tominobo.
germination poctobo.
gift bogay.
ginger loya.
girdle baling, bakes.
girl dalaga.
giver malibogayon, mayac.
glad milipay.
gland gonda.
glaucous toay, manguidaap.
glebe soc lupa noctibogol guinale, semicoat nog daro.
globular lingin.
go minolo, morito.
  go down socsilong.
  go up monoog.
goat anding, bilibili.
god diuata; bichara.
goitre buyun.
gold bulawan.
gong kulintangan; gagun.
good pia, bais, malongas, pinuli, taron.
gossip tontoltontol balos.
govern gauid, pocboot.
governor magagauid, magboot, ponoan, gobednarol.
grain putok.
granary lulu tongalang.
grandfather gapó nog lee.
grandmother gapó nog libon.
grasp aoid.
grass padang, kogon.
grave alobungan.
gray gabu, gobol.
gray hair mogobol, kagobolnen.
great salag, gasalagnen, bagol.
great-grandfather gama nog gapó.
greatly tugaling.
greatness gasalagnen.
green lunau, galunaunen, molunau; mangud.
ground salau.
guess atoc.
guitar sigitan, kutapi.
gulf linok, logoc.
gun sinapang.
gunpowder malilang.
gutter tugaya.

habit tagam, gaui, botasan.
habitable song mopia pocongolan.
habitation picongolan.
habitually mitagam.
haft subungan.
hair booc, bombol, kulagu.
  false hair caloonan nog booc, boocan, pasobong.
hairy gotao nong motaas nog booc, boocan.
half gineng, ginenga, tenga.
hamlet gampu nog balay, gampu nog bawang.
hammock puyuwan.
hand gomog.
  palm palad.
  back dibabau palad.
  lines of palm kulis.
  left dig mebang.
  right dig liut.
handkerchief panggu.
hank palos.
happiness alipayan, palad.
happy lipay, liag.
hard matugas.
harm tong.
hat popia, turung.
hatred malaat nog boot, gomot.
have doon.
he guien, geyen, iin, yen.
head golo.
  nod polog sa golo debaloy bo debaloy.
heal bolong.
hear rongog, bonug.
heart posong.
hearth buanan, gabo pagbaloganan.
heat init, sasac.
heathen pacano.
heel seel, bacoao.
help gabang, labanan.
hemorrhage sogdogo.
hemp lanut.
hen dulungan.
  wild hen daluan libuyu.
here deni.
heritage socmicpongon.
hermit crab gumang.
hiccup soggó, gontó, boctasan.
hide *v* godlod.
hill bulud.
hillock buludbulud, bod.
hilltop atapusan sog benoiran.
hip tabing.
hither deni.
hoard timod noc salapi, oglod
hoe sarol.
hold pongong.
hole luang, soquit.
honey teneb.
hope lolat.
hornbill kalau.
horse abayo, guda.
hostile pomoctong.
hot malalas, init.
house balay.
  birth house gosina.
  spirit house maligai.
  to admit to panilong.

howling pogosig no quito nocpogbou tolon.
human mitondong no gotao, baya no gotao.
humbly palobaya.
humility pahubus.
hundred magatus.
hunger porá.
hunt din.
hunting spirits manubu.
husband lagi.
hush libang.
hut ludan.
hysterical guinogdoban.

I agen, au, gaco.
idea gonagona.
ideally so gonagona.
identical maaron nog leen noc pomotangon, latin, sopocama.
identically sopoceglopong.
identify pocpononggguiling, pocomotood.
identity poco maaron, pocsama.
idiocy gondaay gaom.
idiot gotao gondaay gaom, gondaay saboton.
idiom pogogovitan.
idler sogondi mayac mogbaal moglanglaang, malonca, tapolan.
idolatrous soc mitondong nog diuata.
ignition baga tondong noc abolo no gapoy.
ignominy nocpigaguanta, piran.
ignominiously sopogopia.
ignorance pocogondaay gaom, pocogondaay sonan.
iguana guibid.
ill at ease malaat no abotang.
illicitly sopogondaay dason.
illuminative socorolang.
image ladawan.
imaginable sogsocalgunagunaon.
imagination gunaguna.
imaginative sogmogunaguna.
imagine pagonaguna, pogdalomdom
imbecile boangboang, colang sog boot.
imbiber sogmacaocsop.
imbibition pocoocsop gacsop.
imitable socsocalpononggulingan.
imitate guiling.
imitation sopoconongguiling, nong maaron.
imitater sogmonongguiling.
immutable sogondi maimo posocliyan, sogondi maimo uraman.
impart pogambit, pocquilas.
impassability pocgondaay loroon, pocgondaay casit.
impassable sogondi mogbatic, sogondi maglaro.
impeccable sogondi maimo noc sala.
impeded pilong.
impel doso, gagda, tolod, iguen.
imperiously sopagboot nogogolingon.
imperturbable sogondi magalin, sogindagosay.
impostor baloson, molimbong, sagatad.
importunate socdomanlag.
improve tomanan.
inactivity maya.
inattentive moglingalinga.
incense palina.
inclination sogmitoiac, sogpacailig.
indestructible sogondi maimo nong morala.
indigo dagom.
indivisible sogondi maimo guilaso boocoon.
indolent molobay.
infanticide sogmigbono.
infantry sog sondalo moggondaay abayo.
inflexible sogondi maimo pomagon.
inheritance bilin.
inhumanly pocabolo tugaling.
iniquitous malaat, monlogos.
iniquitously sogpacalaat tugaling.
initiative pegotaran, sogmegatad.
injustice bal nogondi socal so catorongan, calaatan nogombagol.
ink dawat.
inquire saac.
inside dialum.
instep dababau noc palapa.
instruct pocsambag.
insupportable sogondi maimo gantoson.
intention tuyo.
intestines tinee.
intrepid ondi matalao, di motahap.
intrepidity sogondaay atalao, sogondaay gondoc.
iron potao, cutao.
ironworks balay noc poctonaoan noc potao, pandayan.
irremediably sogondaay bolong, sogondaay sopla.
irremissibly sogondaay pocpasaylo.
irreverence pocgondaay basanon.
irreverent sogantol nog basa.
irrevocability pogondaay pocpoli.
irritated marongot.

jacket gawal, suuk, legdey.
jar bandi, genlit, gulen, lingulingu, buun, kakud, kaliguan, kundungan, galunawan, dinampak, gunsulee, gunsulaki, limalima, galuas, minanukan, sinantan, sigeban, siguban, sibulan, tadjau.
javelin noctalloma.
joint lelenguan.
joy alipayan.
judge paggosay, ponudya, boot,. ocom, pagonagona.
judgment day gondao noc pocponudya.
judicious bootan.
juice tagek.
juiciness pocoloon noc sabao.

juicy sogdoon cisabaon.
just lopong, motaron.
jute lanut.
juvenile mitondong nog bata.

kidney bunga.
kill bono.
kilt tapis empetek.
kindness paalongas.
king lare.
knee dulud, taktuai.
  hollow leletek.
kneel lood.
knife geg, hilamon, kisanggulang, loot, penoto, pes, pinobalan, pinuti, barong.
  edge baba.
  point soong.
  haft subungan.
know sonan.
  I do not know taron.
knowledge gaom.
knuckle bogotondo.

laborer moomogbaal, sogmigbaal, gotao sogboid.
lack colang, quinaanglan.
lactation pagdoro nonga gombata.
ladder paghat, pahat, gogdan.
lading sogod.
lady bai.
lake danao, lanao.
lamentable socsocalpocsoganan.
land bonoa, bukid, lopa.
language taló, pogogovitan.
lard matia, laneg.
large bagol, masalag.
larynx tulakh.
late payat, ombos.
launch pilac.
lawful dason, motaron.
lawsuit bityala.
lawyer mangangabang.
lazy molobay, tapolan.
leader poon.
leaf doon.
lean *a* malagos.
lean *v* toiac.
leaning sogpacailig.
left dig mebang.
leg paa, lintisan.
lemon malinao, pumutul.
leprous socpongol so gomoc, socpinoquit.
lie *n* balos.
  to tell lies pocabalos.
lie *v* balilid.
life catubo.
light *a* sogmolomo antosan.
light *n* solo, pangangdan.
lightning guilat.
like *a* sama, aron, mopong.
like *v* bout, liag.
liking ayac.
lime gapog.
lintel golo nogombagol.
lip domomog, bibig.
lippitude mota.
liver gatai.
load lolan.
loafer sogondi mayac mogbaal moglanglaang.
lodestone bato balani.
lodging picongolan.
loftily pocobaga.
log batang.
loincloth baag.
long mayaba.
look guipos, ipos, tobang.
looking glass salamin.
loom belen.
love mayac.
lover sognigasoy sonnem nogayac.
loving malomo mayac.
lovingly gayac sogombagol, nogayac.
low obos.
  low tide gonas.
luck palad.
lung baga, looc.

machete penoto nogombagol.
magnitude gasalagnen.
maiden dalaga.
maize mais, daoa.
make baal, mando.
male laki.
man gotao, lee.
mango mapalam.
manner baya.
manufacturer sogmimando.
many loon, madagel.
marriage poctontal.
married luay.
marry tontal.
marsh bonoa nog tubigan, lopa nongmoromos, lanao, miglanao ic tubig.
marvel tingala.
massive libon, dacsoc, pono, maligon.
mat sapiai.
  grass damdam.
  cycas giham.
mattock gwasay.
mature bootan, gomolanggolang; inog.
meadow padangan.
meal gaan; lepet, bagas mais.
measure poglibot so mga linonsoran.
measures
  liquid pasub.
  dry gantang.
  linear kumpau, depa, sinantan.
meat gunud.
  to dry inoctod.
  to cure porang, tenite.
medicines gagimut, gululu, matansa.
meet baangan.
memory dalomdom.
merchant gotao pimonan, pisaligan, pocsaloy, nocpogbalidya.
mercy alalaat.
merry lipay, malipay.
meteor genit bitun.
midday taassondao.

midnight gineng gobii.
midwife panday negmegbata; belilu, gagun.
milk gatas.
milky tondong no gatas.
minced meat menaticaan no carne inoctod gopia.
mind gaom.
mirror salamin.
mischievousness nog metagam nog poglaat, batasan.
misfortune malaat nog palag, alisod.
misspend socpuonan, ola, pogola noc salapi.
mist dope nog guinanat.
mistake socsayop.
model ponongguian.
modesty matamot.
moisture pocoromos.
molest cotecote, pimoctong, samoc, tuyo.
moment deliai.
money salapi, pilak.
monk binocot.
monkey gutung, utung, tongdug panga.
month bulan.
moon bulan.
  new bata bulan.
  full mandawan.
  dark mipupus.
morning siselem, suansolom, diselum.
mortar (rice) lusung.
mosquito bar kulambu.
mother gina, ina.
  mother-in-law ponongangan.
motive tungdong.
mound bod.
mountain dungus, gedungusan, bui.
mouse gibasgibas.
mouth baba.
much dagel, loon.
mud basac, tamisac.
musket sinapang.
mutilate pongol.

nail bocsoc, ogboc, lansang, pasoc, toclop.
  fingernail kanuku.
name ngalan.
nape tinhug, tiungo.
narrow moloctin.
naughty tampalasan.
navel pusu.
near good.
neck leeg, tinhug.
necklace bitegel.
need quinaanglan.
needle tee.
needy meebog.
nervousness badi.
nest salag.
net giyud, pasawit.
never di gusay.
night gobii.
nine siam.
ninety siampulu.
nipple ecsipan.
no da, di, daay.
nod polog.
noon gektu gondao, taassondao.
nose soong.
  bridge batang soong.
  septum imud soong.
  interior gegbad soong.
not da, di, daay.
  not yet daap.
now nandao, nenau, numungini, numungitu.
nun binocot.

oath arugo.
obey tuman, gosod.
obscure pogdolan.
obstinate lalis.
obstruct somagang.
obstructer macapongong, socmicaolang.
offensive pocobaga.
offspring bata.
often misauta.
oily pogooao.
old daan, gomolang, magulang.
on dibabau.
once minsan.
one sa, isa, sala, salabuk.
onion sabilino.
or bo, bu.
orchard sulal.
order *n* gosay.
order *v* sogo.
origin pegotaran.
orphan bata ilu.
our name.
outward sa gua.
over ditaas.
overflow baa.
overshadow pogdolan.

pack solog, soglogua, quipos.
paddy field binal.
pain cogool.
pair magimpang.
palatable mis.
palate danaan.
palm palad.
  lines in the palm kulis.
palpitate poolog nog guilid sopoglo-guinaoá boctasan.
pant pocolog.
pardon poylo, pasaylo.
parent mogulang.
parishioner poglogotaoan pisala noc paroquia, sacog.
part bahagi, bahin.
partition gogbag.
pass pocbiyan, casit, loroon.
passable maglaro.
path daan, dalan, gaitan.
patrimony bilin, socmicpongon.
peasant socmoctoloan noc subanun.
people leenleen.
pepper seli.
peppery malalas.

perfect tobos.
perhaps saoan.
perjury pombaal.
permit togot.
person gotao.
pertain tondong.
pertaining to noquito.
pestle gelu.
petticoat laguas, tapis.
pickpocket dao.
picture ladawan.
pierce lugbas.
pig baboy, buktin, tinuksuk.
pigeon malapati, manatud.
pillow goloan.
pipe sigupan.
pipestem silup.
pit, to fall into lolid, bosacan.
place bonoa, bawang, butang.
plain lopa nong napo nogondaay magpondopondo.
plant *n* pomolonan.
plant *v* guroc.
plasterer sogmoglerme nog basac.
plate lainpai, pinggan.
platter talam.
play lamot, megleymet.
plow badya, daro.
plump lombo, pocsopang.
point (knife) soong.
poison *n* lupag, milo, bolic.
poison *v* pocpoinom, poctuba.
poor meebog, miskinan.
pork bool noc paa nog baloy, gunud baboy.
post pasek.
potbelly macabagol noc tian.
poultice gaclop.
pound locpog, ocdoc.
pounding pogocdoc.
power gaom.
powerful gasalagnen.
prairie pacanapo tugaling.
praise pogdaig.
pray gampo, pocdiuata.
pregnant boros, poloponan.
prejudicial moglaat.
pretty longas.
price laga.
priest balian.
princess bai.
procreate lioat.
profit polos.
prompt dali.
provision balon.
puddle bonoa noc tubigan, donaoan
pulpit ulihan.
pungent malalas.
pup bocposon.
pupil (eye) ginotau.
purple taluk.
purse conotconot.
push tolod.
put guison, butang.

quarrelsome malalison.
question saac.
quick dali.
quickly pagas.
quiet malali yamo mocsasa.
quietly maya.

rabble mga gotao socalpalalabian, mga gotao nog mesequin.
raft aloonan nog gayoonan, guset.
rage megolos guisoc, pocsopoc.
rags danol, ponopoton nog daan, porot.
rain *n* dope, pusilau.
rain *v* poctolo nongo gatop.
rainwater tubig nog dope.
rainy toon nog dogdope, marope.
rancid pogooao.
range gedungusan.
rascal tolisan.
rasher bool noc paa nog baboy.
rat togubung.
ration balon.
rattan gooay.
read basa.
reason alaik punanen, alaik sabab, gutek, tungdong.
rebel sogmololison.
receive domangop.
recline balilid.
red pulo, bolao, pongompig.
redness gapulonen.
region lonsod.
relative sogombaya nog moloon nog magleinlein, aromananan.
remedy sopla.
remember gumauna, dalinduman.
renowned arunaan, salapian, dato.
repay pocpuli.
repent inunsalan, guinonosola.
repentance basulan.
replete bontal.
reputation dongog.
resin lunai, palina.
resolution pegoyonan.
respect basa, taod.
revoke poli.
revolve tabo.
revolving sogmogbolobod.
rib gusuk.
rice
  unhusked balay.
  husked begas.
  boiled gemai, pulut.
  beer gasi, pangasi.
  ricefield binal.
rich arunaan, dato, salapian, magaus.
ridgepole libongan.
right dig liut; taron.
ring (arm) linggit.
  (finger) sising.
  (shin) lintisan sising.
ripe mimug, inog; bootan.
ripeness pacainog.
rising tide poglogonas.
river suba, tubig.
rivulet sapasapa.

road daan, dalan.
rob salumnenka.
rogue sogmalaat nog botasan, tolisan, lee nog tapolan.
romp megleymet.
roof gatop.
rooster limansud.
rope tali.
round maliputut, lingin.
rumor tontoltontol.
rump boktol, guging.
run genenkan, goboc.

saffron lalag.
sago lumbia.
sail layag.
saliva dula.
salt masin.
same maaron, latin.
sand goles.
satisfy poctoman noc atandanan.
saucer lainpai.
scatter lagoy.
school guiscuelaan.
science gaom.
scraper lisan.
sea dagat.
seacoast balingdagat.
see mita ipos.
seed bigibigi, goroc.
seize pocpongong, pocaoid.
seldom somolondon.
sell balidya, daghan, pocsaloy.
señor sengguil.
separate boclag, lombos.
septum imud.
sermon tabal.
servant biag.
settlement gampu.
seven pitu.
seventy pitupulu.
sew meneg.
shanty ludan.
shape pogliquimo, pogbaal.
share guilas, ambit.
shawl musalabungkas.
she guien, geyen, iin.
sheep bilibili.
shield lasag, taming.
shin lintisan.
shinbone belintis.
ship gapal, sacay.
shipping pocosacay.
shirt suuk.
shoot saa.
shooting star genit bitun.
shore balingdagat.
short empetek.
shoulder baga.
shoulderblade belagel.
shower dope, pusilau.
shuttle siyuan.
sick laronon.
sickle pes nog molió, seilad.
sickness laroon.

side guilid.
to one side sogpacailig.
from side to side cotat, poyo, debaloy.
sieve dunukun.
signal toos.
silly gongog, culang nog boot.
silver salapi, pilak.
similar aron, mopong, sama.
sin sala.
sinner maasasala.
sister gilugu.
sit guingcod.
six gonom.
sixty gonompulu.
skein palos.
sketch landasan.
skilful sinonan, somoon.
skin ganit, panit.
skirt tapis.
sky langit.
slander pogangay nog rongog, pogliboc.
slanderer sogmogangay nog dongog.
slap tampoling, sogpaon.
slash sontoc, pocpoc.
slave gulipun, ulipun, biag.
sleep tolog.
slender peed.
slope maranaya.
small micia.
smallness gabiganen.
smite bonal.
smoke gobal.
smoky sogmogombal.
smooth melenin.
snatch gagao.
snout mirapal.
soften momoc posol, banig.
soil baal, pogbaal, napo, bukid, lopa.
soldier pilak, sondalo.
sole palapa.
solid libon, maligon, dacsoc, pono.
son bata.
soot gagoy.
sooty sogmigagoyan.
sore laroon nog guimood, gangol.
soul guimud, guinaoá; puluntu.
sour mosom, gosomnen.
sow *n* baboy talon boloog,lanayan.
sow *v* goroc.
spate baa noc tubig.
spear bosi, moni, noctalloma, salapang, sebat, talawan, tinalagan.
spearhead limayas, tinabagen.
speak gabit.
spectacles antocos.
spherical lingin.
spider balingawa.
spike bocsoc, lansang.
spin tingol.
spinach linagami.
spinner sogmogtingol.
spinning room inu.
spinning wheel tingilan.

spirit apujungal, balian, bulatuk, dipuksaya, diuata, gelektu, guinagan, gulai, gwakgwak, kalamonte, mamanua, manamat, manubu, matubud, minubu, mitubu, mogolot, munlu, salomaya,sarut,sindupan, tamiang, tibogok.
spirit house maligai.
spiritless pagoquion.
spit pocdula.
spoiled child poraigon.
spoon sanduk, sulidat.
spout tugaya.
spread lerme.
spring bual, tobod, tobora, poctuan.
sprinkle pocsicay.
sprout pegotaran, saa, tobo, bone, buat.
spun tinongol.
squander pogola noc salapi.
stack tambun.
stand guindog.
standard bearer sogmogoit nog bandela.
star bitun.
steal salumnenka, pogdao.
steamship gapal gapoy.
stem pakanem.
step poguindog.
stepchild tinaguilo.
steps paghat, pahat, gogdan.
stew loto.
stewpan tacho.
stick gapud.
stomach cotooto, tiboa.
stone bato.
store tago, poquison, pocquipos.
storeroom siclat.
storm gonos nong marisa.
stove delengan.
stow dacsoc.
stowaway sogsomacay.
strand balingdagat.
strength socoa.
strengthen tugol.
strike bonal, sontoc.
stroke pogbonal, pagsontoc, pocpoc, litobong.
strong socog.
succulence pocoloon noc sabao.
sucking pig buktin.
suckle doro.
sugar binagel.
summit atapusan sog benoiran.
summon tauac.
sun gondao.
sunrise sumibang gondao, sulu.
sunset sindep gondao.
sunshine pedes.
supper lobungan.
supply bogay.
supplies pogandam nog gaan, pogandam nog pomotangon.
surf pocdanlag nog balod.
survey gogba.
suspect taap.
swallowing goglon.
swamp bonoa noc tubigan.
sweat golas, mamis.
sweetness gemisnen.
sweet potato gobe, camote.
swelling buyun.
swindler lee nog tapolan, sogmalaat nog botasan.
swing pacpoyo, cotat.
syphilis laroon migalin.

table binabalay, bukar.
tail gikud.
take angay.
tale tontoltontol.
talk pigagabit, tingog.
talker tabian.
tall mataas.
tattooing liluk, patik.
tax pamuku, buis.
teach toon.
teacher gulu.
tear lua.
to shed tears sogao.
tear duct pocpongimotacan.
tempest gonos nong marisa.
ten sapulu.
thank mangampon.
the ang.
theft pigdaoan.
there dien iposay.
they guilan, ilan.
thick moreipol.
thief dao, mogdao.
thievish sogmetondong sogmogdadao.
thigh puunpaa.
thin malagos, nepes.
think pogonagona.
thinness monepes.
thirty tolopulu.
this geniya, gini.
thorax gagen.
thou a, ga, iga, ya, neen, nia,niya.
thought gonagona, gutek.
thousand songibu.
thread tanud.
three tolo.
throat geeg, geleg, leeg, langag, donaan.
thrust doque.
thumb galubalu.
thunder logong.
tibia belintis.
tide pocaolog nogonnos.
low gonas.
rising poglogonas, soctobig, poctaab.
till baal, pogbaal.
timber gayo.
time toon.
timid atalao.
tin tatungo.
tire supoc, pogbollo.
tired lopugu.
tobacco box batangan laget.

to-day cone no gondao, nenau, gondao.
toe goyamet gocsud.
  small goangai gocsud.
  great galubalu gocsud.
to-morrow lema, belema, luma.
  day after to-morrow donlag, salan gondao.
tongue dila.
tooth ngisi.
torch sulu.
town bonoal.
trader nocpogbalidya.
transport pocogoit, pocoatud.
tree gayo.
tribute pamuku, buis.
trough ogasan, palongan.
trousers gawes, gantiu, salwal.
true motood.
trumpet bogguiong.
trunk caban.
try indamanta.
tuck conotconot.
turban panggu.
twice kadua.
twins gapid.
twist calingin.
two dua.

ulcer laroon nog guimood, gangol.
umbrella payung.
uncertainty socsayop.
uncle manak, gaya.
uncultivated lopa mogondaapa balay goracan bo pomolonan.
under babá, dialum, perealon.
underneath silong.
understand sabot.
understanding motoo.
unequal sogondaay ig doma, sogondaay pares.
unhappy nanaan, tiroo.
uninhabited lopa mogondaapa balay goracan, sogondaay poconggolan.
unite lompoc, gongaya, pongon, timod, topoc.
unlawful sogondaay dason, sogondi motaron.
unlike dilo mopong.
unlimited sogondaay atapusan pingoctoban.
unmarried golitao, dalaga.
unpardonable sogondi maimo noc pasaylon.
unripe mangud.
unsalted nogondaay masin, motobang.
unseasonable sogondi inog.
unskilled sogondaay mitagam, sogondi somoon.
unskilfully sogondaay sinonan.
untruth balos.
up ditaas.
  to go up moneec.
upon dibaban.
urinate guyo.

vagabond sogondi mayac mogbaal moglanglaang, tapolan.
varnish lomi, bolit, posinao.
vein gugat.
venereal disease buot socpog libon no gotao.
very gopia, gosaca, tugaling, maligat.
vessel sacay.
vex samoc, tuyo.
village gampu nog balay, gampu nog bawang, lonsod.
vine bolagan nog bolaan.
vinegar osisang.

wailing sogao.
wait pogulatay.
walk laang.
wall cota, donding.
want colang.
war gubat.
war cry buksai.
warped caliuanag no calingin.
waste ola, socpuonan.
water tubig.
wave balod.
wax nila.
we gita, ita, gami, ami.
weak gasa, malobay.
wealth gaus.
wealthy arunaan, lee nog bandian magaus.
weary cotecote, samoc, tuyo.
weather gonos nong marisa, linao.
weave tinina.
wedge gocsip, pansal.
weep pocsogao.
weeper socmocsogao, malisogon.
weeping iglua.
weld pagbaga noc potao.
well timba.
west sindepan.
  west wind balat.
wet romos.
whelp bocposon.
when nano.
where tama.
white goguis, poti.
whiten pocpoti.
whitewash poglomi no gapog, pogugba.
wholly tibooc.
why alaik punanen, alaik sabab, toma, tong.
wicked pinilian.
wickedness poalat.
widow balu nog libun; liingan.
widower balu nog lee; liingan.
wife soay, sawa.
wild libuyu, talon.
  boar butaal.
will buot.
win daag.
wind
  to blow gonos.
  west balat.
windpipe gagen.
wine bino.

wise	motoo.
wish	liag.
within	dialum.
wizard	gonlo.
woman	libun.
womb	ginubungan.
wood	gayo.
work	baal.
workable	socsocalbalon.
workshop	bonoa noc pogbaalan.
world	alibutan.
worse	maligos tugaling.
worthy	mayac.
wound	laroon nog guimood, gangol.
wrangle	lalis.
wrap	tongos.
wrist	pinugulan.
write	saquit.
writer	sogmogsosulat.
writing	sulat.
wry	timpas.
yam	ubi.
year	toon.
yellow	maralag, dalag, pocsobblag.
yes	maa, naa.
yesterday	labong.
you	amo, gamo, lamo, yamo, niyo.
young	batit, gakpis, nati.

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